

Williamson, Eila (1998) *Scottish benefices and clergy during the Pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84): the evidence in the Registra Supplicationum*. PhD thesis.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/2540/>

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given

**Scottish Benefices and Clergy during the Pontificate
of Sixtus IV (1471-84): the evidence in the
*Registra Supplicationum***

Volume I

Submitted by

Eila Williamson

for the degree of Ph.D.

to the University of Glasgow

January 1998

**Research conducted within the Department of Scottish History,
University of Glasgow**

© Eila Williamson 1998

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

Variable print quality

Abstract

In the last years of the pontificate of Paul II and for the whole of the pontificate of Sixtus IV, nearly six hundred Scottish clerics supplicated to the pope for a variety of reasons, although the majority concerned their holding of benefices. The clerics ranged from those who were unbeneficed to those who were of prelatial rank and also included a small group who were familiars of the pope and of cardinals. Their supplications are contained within the *Registra Supplicationum*, a Vatican Archive source, which has long been regarded as an important source for the study of the late medieval Scottish Church in light of the paucity of native ecclesiastical source material.

In order to analyse almost 1,200 supplications (for the period January 1470 to August 1484) to the best effect, the study has employed the use of a relational database. Methodological issues such as record linkage are therefore discussed in detail, in addition to results of analysis. In essence the research has been conducted as much to determine what issues can, and should be addressed as to provide definitive conclusions.

Nevertheless, use of such methodology has imparted greater clarity to results of analysis than has hitherto been possible. The study reveals, for example, that a disproportionate number of supplications were made by, or on behalf of a distinct group of papal or cardinal familiars. Furthermore, in terms of relations to the papacy, a marked variation from diocese to diocese can be noted. The dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, and, to a lesser degree, Aberdeen were not only the most popular dioceses in which aspiring clerics sought benefices, but clergy from these dioceses were more likely to seek favour from the pope.

Table of Contents

Volume I

List of Tables and Figures	iv
Preface	v
Acknowledgements	viii
Conventions and abbreviations	x
Introduction	1
Chapter I - Source and Methodology	20
Chapter II - Clergy	71
Chapter III - Benefices	163
Conclusion	224
Appendix I - Examples of contents of database tables	238
Appendix II - Index of names of supplicants	241
Bibliography	253

Volume II

Appendix III - Calendar of Scottish Supplications (1470-1484)	269
---	-----

List of Tables and Figures

<i>Table 1</i>	Numbers of Scottish supplications 1470-84	26
<i>Table 2</i>	Number of Scottish supplications and register folios during the pontificates of Sixtus IV and Eugenius IV	39
<i>Table 3</i>	Outline of Database Structure	53
<i>Table 4</i>	Relationship Codes in the Relatio Table	59
<i>Figure 1</i>	Number of registers <i>per annum</i>	32
<i>Figure 2</i>	Number of Scottish supplications <i>per annum</i>	34
<i>Figure 3</i>	Number of Scottish supplications and register folios during the pontificate of Sixtus IV	36
<i>Figure 4</i>	Number of Scottish supplications and register folios during the pontificate of Eugenius IV	37
<i>Figure 5</i>	Social Origins of Illegitimate Clerical Supplicants	140
<i>Figure 6</i>	Diocesan distribution of benefices gained through expectative graces	171
<i>Figure 7</i>	Diocesan distribution of benefices for which provision is being supplicated for or verified in supplications of the <i>Nova Provisio</i> category	174
<i>Figure 8</i>	Diocesan distribution of benefices associated with clerics seeking dispensation to hold incompatibles	180
<i>Figure 9</i>	Diocesan distribution of benefices affected by litigation	186
<i>Figure 10</i>	Diocesan distribution of benefices with pensions	196

Preface

The thesis attempts to highlight a number of features relating to clergy and benefices within the late medieval Scottish Church as revealed by 1,194 Scottish supplications to the papacy in the 1470-84 period. In essence these supplications, extracted from the *Registra Supplicationum* series in the Vatican Archives (and subsequently calendared by the late Dr Annie I Dunlop and Dr Alan Macquarrie)¹, have been examined as much to ascertain what issues can, and should be addressed as to provide definitive conclusions.

The introduction, after a brief examination of relevant background details of the Scottish Church in this period, discusses historiographical approaches to the late medieval Church in Scotland. There then follows a brief survey of the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-84), during which the bulk of the supplications under review were made.

Chapter I on Source and Methodology is divided into two main parts. In the first part the *Registra Supplicationum* is explored in detail, focussing on the significance and nature of the source. Numbers and types of Scottish supplications *per annum* are considered together with the way in which the trend of the Scottish material relates to the general trend of supplications in the registers. In the second part of Chapter I the methodology which has been employed in the study is described. Attention is largely devoted to discussing the construction and use of a relational

¹ This calendar of supplications forms Appendix III of the thesis (Volume II).

database of the supplications, with respect to current methodological debate in the field of historical computing.

The main body of the thesis is divided into two chapters - Clergy and Benefices - although these sections are by no means mutually exclusive. The overriding theme of the clergy chapter is that of patronage and social networking. The type of patronage falls largely into two distinct categories: patronage at the *curia* bestowed by the pope and cardinals, and Scottish patronage provided by the king and members of the nobility. Papal and cardinal familiars have received especial consideration due to the disproportionate amount of information which exists and the fact that, being largely resident in Rome, there is a reduced likelihood of native material relating to them. The chapter on Clergy concludes with more personal information relating to social origins, age, qualifications, and finally the subject of ordinations. The last of these subjects is particularly important in view of the fact that no ordination lists exist among the native material for this period.

The Benefices chapter examines a number of issues relating to benefice-holding. Topics involving the acquisition and deposition of benefices (for example, expectative graces, resignations and exchanges) are discussed in addition to the subject of disputes and litigation. Throughout this chapter an attempt is made to reflect on the diocesan distribution of the benefices which feature in each section, and the problems posed in interpreting the results of analysis.

Finally, the conclusion not only draws together the analysis contained within the main body of the thesis, but also points to ways in which the analysis could be further developed.

Acknowledgements

The primary record of thanks must go to the Ross Fund Committee of the University of Glasgow for allowing me to use material from the Vatican Archive collection. Without the tremendous efforts of the late Dr Annie I Dunlop and Dr Alan Macquarrie, whose respective work on the calendar has been used in the analysis, the research would not have been possible. Furthermore, had it not been for the training in palaeography which Professor A A M Duncan of the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow, gave to me in the early stages of the research, the task would have been substantially more difficult. Thanks are due to the staff of the Vatican Archives, in particular Monsignor Charles Burns, whose assistance was given during a study visit to Rome in April-May 1995. Mr James J Robertson of the Faculty of Law, University of Dundee, was kind enough to provide me with an index to Rota material and advice on judicial aspects. Similarly Dr Leslie J Macfarlane of the Department of History, University of Aberdeen, willingly shared his thoughts on the late medieval papacy. Dr John Durkan of the Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow, has taken an interest in the research throughout and has been happy to discuss various aspects. There has also been fruitful discussion with Janet Foggie, a former postgraduate in the Department of Scottish History, University of Edinburgh, whose research into Dominican friars (1450-1560) has also involved Vatican sources. The computing element to the research would not have been possible without the training which I received as an undergraduate of the University of Glasgow, from the staff who enthusiastically taught the Historical Computing honours course. In particular, thanks are expressed to Dr Daniel I Greenstein who helped with the creation of the initial database design. Ms Christelle Le Riguer provided assistance with Figures 1-4. Without the support of family and friends, though, the thesis would never have been completed. My former colleagues and friends at the Glasgow Royal Concert Hall deserve special mention as does Gayle Wiggett, Mhairi Dewar, and my mum, Mrs Marjory J B Williamson. Last, but by no means least, gratitude is expressed to my supervisor, Dr David Brown, who has cheerfully endured the process of supervision, providing encouragement throughout.

Unfortunately, my Grandad, the late Mr James W Livingstone, did not live to see the completion of the work. It is to his memory that the thesis is dedicated.

Conventions and Abbreviations

Conventions

In Volume I of the thesis the practice is for personal and place names to be modernised in the text. In cases in which it has not been possible to confidently modernise a personal or place name, the name appears in its original form in italics. All dates have been given according to the modern calendar.

Abbreviations

<i>CPR, XI</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XI (1455-1464), ed J A Tremlow (London, 1921)</i>
<i>CPR, XII</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XII (1458-1471), ed J A Tremlow (London, 1933)</i>
<i>CPR, XIII</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XIII (1471-1484), ed J A Tremlow (London, 1955)</i>
<i>CPR, XV</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XV (1484-1492), ed M J Haren (Dublin, 1978)</i>
<i>CPR, XVI</i>	<i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XVI (1492-1498), ed A P Fuller (Dublin, 1986)</i>
<i>IR</i>	<i>Innes Review</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office, London
<i>Reg. Supp.</i>	<i>Registra Supplicationum</i>
<i>RSCHS</i>	<i>Records of the Scottish Church History Society</i>
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>Supp. No.</i>	Supplication number as given in Appendix III (Volume II of thesis)

Introduction

Background to the late medieval Church in Scotland and historiographical approaches

By the time that Sixtus IV was elected to the papacy following the death of Paul II in July 1471, the *ecclesia Scoticana* was, practically speaking, composed of thirteen dioceses; although, the three dioceses of Orkney, the Isles or Sodor, and Galloway or Candida Casa were not formally acknowledged by the papacy as being part of the main body until August 1472 when the bishopric of St Andrews was erected into a metropolitan see. The bishops of Galloway had previously been subject to the authority of archbishops of York but had ceased to offer obedience to their metropolitan since 1355.¹ The bishops of the Isles and Orkney had been subject to the metropolitan jurisdiction of the archbishop of Nidaros in Norway. Territorially, though, the Western Isles had been ceded to Scotland by the Norwegians in the thirteenth century and the islands of Orkney and Shetland became part of the Scottish kingdom in 1468/9.

Despite the fact that there had been no archbishop in the kingdom of Scotland until 1472, the Church was permitted to function as a national unit with, for most of the time, little interference from foreign nations due to a special relationship established by the papacy in the late twelfth century. By the terms of the papal bull *Cum*

¹ *An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600*, edd P G B McNeill and R Nicholson (St Andrews, 1975), 77-8; R Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, The Edinburgh History of Scotland, vol II (Edinburgh, 1989), 462

universi, which has recently been attributed to Clement III and dated to March 1189 as opposed to the hitherto accepted date of March 1192 during the pontificate of Celestine III,² the *ecclesia Scoticana* consisting then of nine dioceses, was to be subject to the papal see as its *filia specialis* with no intermediary. One of the consequences of this was that any cases of appeal from a diocesan court would be heard in the papal curia.³

In addition, following the decree of the Lateran Council in 1215 that provincial councils were to meet annually, in 1225 the papal bull *Quidam vestrum* was granted to the Scottish Church which had no metropolitan. Each year the bishops of Scotland were to meet together and elect one of their number who would act as Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Church for the following year.⁴ So, because of these special arrangements the Church was able to function on the whole as a national and independent unit.

By the late fifteenth century the thirteen dioceses, of which two - Galloway or Candida Casa and St Andrews - had cathedrals with regular rather than secular clergy, consisted of a variety of religious houses and parish churches. There were over 1,000 parish churches and the most marked feature to note is the high level of appropriation that had taken place. Work conducted by the late Professor Ian Cowan

² A D M Barrell, 'The background to *Cum universi*: Scoto-papal relations, 1159-1192', *IR* XLVI (1995), 116-38

³ Although the papal court of the Rota was able to hear cases from first instance.

⁴ See D E R Watt, 'The Provincial Council of the Scottish Church 1215-1472', in *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community*, edd A Grant and K Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993), 140-55

shows that by the beginning of the sixteenth century, 86% of the revenues of Scotland's parish churches were being diverted to corporations such as monasteries, cathedrals and collegiate churches. Of this figure approximately one half of these parish churches had their vicarage revenues annexed as well - in some cases to a different corporation. Such a high level of appropriation was unrivalled in any other country, with the possible exception of Switzerland.⁵ In England, for example, just over one third of the parish churches were appropriated.⁶

In contrast to the historian of the late medieval English Church to whom a rich variety of ecclesiastical sources such as bishops' registers, ordination lists, visitation records, ecclesiastical court records, probate inventories and papal letters is available, the historian of its Scottish counterpart experiences a remarkable paucity of sources, a complaint also voiced by historians of the Irish Church, such as J A Watt.⁷ Although bishopric registers have survived from a small number of dioceses (four), the bulk of their contents provide documentary evidence of land and property transactions along with cathedral constitutions as opposed to detailed records of parish clergy exercising cure of souls. Ordination lists, which in England can provide details of the ordinand's place of origin, qualifications and sponsor, do not exist as a Scottish source. Information concerning clergy in Scotland must be compiled mainly from material contained in the Vatican Archives supplemented

⁵ I B Cowan, 'Some Aspects of the Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland', *RSCHS* XIII (1959), 203-22

⁶ Christopher Harper Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400-1530* (New York, 1989), 45

⁷ J A Watt, 'The Papacy and Ireland in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 134

with information from notaries' protocol books (although these are extant mainly from the early sixteenth century onwards), bishopric registers, and non-ecclesiastical sources, such as the Register of the Privy Seal.

Historiography of the late medieval Church in Scotland has ranged from extremely generalised comments about the nature of the Church to highly specialised studies of particular aspects of the Church - for example, the exercise of cure of souls by members of the regular clergy.⁸ There has been a move towards this more specialised and localised type of work - particularly during the past thirty years - but unfortunately this has been at the expense of the development of a modern comprehensive study of the late medieval Scottish Church as a whole. The standard work is still Bishop Dowden's *The Medieval Church in Scotland* which dates from 1910.⁹ This work, however, is confined to the constitution and organisation of the Church and concentrates on secular as opposed to regular clergy. Furthermore, it was written in advance of much of the publication of Vatican Archive material and despite being admirable in many respects, due to subsequent research there is need of a new updated version.¹⁰

In terms of relations with the papacy there has been a tendency for historians to concentrate on large events or controversial subjects. For this period these large events have included: the elevation of the bishopric of St Andrews into an

⁸ I B Cowan, 'The Religious and the Cure of Souls in Medieval Scotland', *RSCHS* XIV (1962), 215-30

⁹ John Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland: its Constitution, Organisation and Law* (Glasgow, 1910)

¹⁰ Points made by Ian Cowan in 'The Medieval Church in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography', *RSCHS* XXI (1981), 95

archbishopric; the rise and fall of Patrick Graham, the first incumbent of that archbishopric; the long-drawn dispute over the priory of Coldingham; and contention between King James III and Pope Sixtus IV over appointments to the bishoprics of Dunkeld and Glasgow in 1483. Controversial subjects mainly concern disputes between the crown and papacy over provisions to benefices. These disputes have been discussed, both theoretically and with examples of practice, by a number of historians.¹¹

More routine business between Scotland and the papacy has received comparatively little attention which is surprising considering the importance of Vatican Archive material to historians of the late medieval Scottish Church. In particular, little has been written about personnel active in the *curia*, whether it be those who held official positions, such as collectors of the Camera, or who acted as procurators on behalf of other clerics. Furthermore, royal ambassadors to the pope have tended to merit consideration only when their missions were large-scale or controversial.

This can be explained due to the approach which has tended to have been used in relation to the material. On the whole Vatican Archive material has been used by

¹¹ Examples of articles include: Leslie J Macfarlane, 'The Primacy of the Scottish Church, 1472-1521', *IR* XX (1969), 111-29; J A F Thomson, 'Some New Light on the Elevation of Patrick Graham', *SHR* XL (1961), 83-8; D E R Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 115-32; R B Dobson, 'The last English monks on Scottish soil - the severance of Coldingham priory from the monastery of Durham 1461-78', *SHR* XLVI (1967), 1-25; N Macdougall, 'The Struggle for the priory of Coldingham, 1472-1488', *IR* XXIII (1972), 102-14; R K Hannay, 'The Scottish Crown and the Papacy, 1424-1560', *Historical Association Pamphlet* no. 6 (1931); G P Innes, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage . . . in Scotland in the Later Middle Ages', *RSCHS* XIII (1957), 73-83

historians of the Scottish church in three main ways: firstly, in the compilation of reference works such as Donald Watt's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638* and Ian Cowan's *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*;¹² secondly, as an auxiliary source in the compilation of career reconstructions of prominent clerics like Bishops Kennedy and Elphinstone;¹³ and, thirdly, recourse to the material has often been made following identification of specific issues - for example, social origins of monks - which have arisen from studies of native material.¹⁴

One important exception is the recent work of Barrell who has compared the relations of both Scotland and northern England with the papacy in the fourteenth century.¹⁵ Barrell has fused the available native and Vatican sources and has been able to produce a degree of statistical analysis for topics which include taxation, papal provisions, and the judicial process. He admits, however, that lack of native material for Scotland in comparison to that for the north of England, has limited his analysis somewhat. In a similar vein there can be cited Margaret Harvey's work on relations between England and the papacy between 1417 and 1464.¹⁶ In this work a considerable number of topics are explored which include royal ambassadors,

¹² D E R Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, second draft, Scottish Record Society, New Series I (Edinburgh, 1969); I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967)

¹³ A I Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews*, St Andrews University publications No. XLVI (Edinburgh and London, 1950); Leslie J Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514*, quincentenary edition (Aberdeen, 1995)

¹⁴ See, for example, M Dilworth, 'The Social Origins of Scottish Medieval Monks', *RSCHS* XX (1980), 197-209

¹⁵ A D M Barrell, *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378* (Cambridge, 1995)

¹⁶ M Harvey, *England, Rome and the Papacy 1417-1464: the study of a relationship* (Manchester and New York, 1993)

taxation, and the Penitentiary. Both of these books deserve especial mention, not only because they successfully combine Vatican and native sources, but also for the reason that they share the feature of providing the reader with much explanatory information (whether it be to explain procedure or define terms) to set the analysis firmly in context.

In Scotland few attempts have been made to discuss and analyse systematically the contents of Vatican Archive material *per se*, with the exception of source editions - although this analysis is somewhat limited in scope.¹⁷ Surprisingly, perhaps, the late medieval Church in England has fared better in this respect with John Thomson's analysis of English papal letters in the fifteenth century.¹⁸ In this article, though, Thomson states that:

- 'Unfortunately, the historian of the fifteenth-century English Church does not possess the advantages of his Scottish counterpart in having easy access to a mass of supplication material, either published or in a manuscript calendar with available microfilm. A similar calendar of English supplications would be of considerable value to historians.'¹⁹

¹⁷ See, for example, the introductions to: *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-1422*, edd E R Lindsay and A I Cameron, Scottish History Society, third series, XXIII (Edinburgh, 1934); *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-1428*, ed A I Dunlop, Scottish History Society, third series, XLVIII (Edinburgh, 1956); *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1428-1432*, edd A I Dunlop and I B Cowan, Scottish History Society, fourth series, VII (Edinburgh, 1970); *The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488*, ed A I Cameron (Oxford, 1934)

¹⁸ J A F Thomson, 'The Well of Grace': Englishmen and Rome in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 99-114.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 101. For information on the Ross Fund holding of Vatican Archive

The supplications are deemed to be such an important source for three main reasons.²⁰ Firstly, they contain an abundance of information: 'For sheer diversity of interest, however, the most rewarding series has continued to be the massive collection of material contained in the Register of Supplications.'²¹ Secondly, not every supplication resulted in the drawing up of a letter (or *bull*a) - some supplications request that the grant be expedited by way of a brief while some request that the signature on the successful supplication be regarded as sufficient.²² Thirdly, information can be found in supplications which did not become part of the expedited letter.

Nevertheless, systematic analysis of Scottish supplications has not been undertaken hitherto. This can be attributed in part to problems of access to material in the case of unpublished supplications.²³ However, a substantial body of supplications do exist in published format but still remain to be scrutinised to their full potential. It would seem therefore that the main obstacle to detailed examination of the source is the quantity and complexity of the information; consideration of which has led some historians to recommend the use of computers in any such analysis.²⁴

material relating to Scotland, see Cowan, I B, 'The Vatican Archives - A Report on pre-reformation Scottish material', *SHR* XLVIII (1969), 227-42

²⁰ For detailed discussion of the *Registra Supplicationum* (Registers of Supplications), see pages 20-5, 27-8 below

²¹ I B Cowan, 'British Research in the Vatican Archives', *Unione Internazionale Degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'arte in Roma - L'archivio segreto Vaticano e le ricerche storiche, Città del Vaticano 4-5 giugno 1981* (Rome, 1983), 151

²² I B Cowan, 'The Medieval Church in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography', *RSCHS* XXI (1981), 93; L E Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972), 52, 150. For examples of use of briefs and requests for *sola signatura*, see also Supp. Nos. 592, 641.

²³ See pages 40-7 below

²⁴ See pages 47-9 below

This study of Scottish supplications from January 1470 until 12 August 1484 therefore makes an attempt not only to reverse usual approaches to the material - in other words to examine the source *per se* rather than to extract information to illustrate predefined issues - but also to consider the benefits of adopting different methodological practice than has hitherto been used to study the late medieval Church in Scotland. Prior to considering the source and methodology in greater detail, a survey of the pontificate of Sixtus IV will help to set the analysis in context.

The pontificate of Sixtus IV

Francesco della Rovere, cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, was elected to the papal throne on 10 August 1471 and was crowned as Pope Sixtus IV later that month (on 25 August). A Ligurian who had studied at the universities of Pavia and Bologna, Francesco had gained a reputation in theological matters. In 1464 he had been elected general of the Franciscan order before being elevated to the cardinalate in 1467.²⁵ As Sixtus IV he was to prove to be 'one of the more controversial and complex among the Renaissance popes'.²⁶

His pontificate, which was to last until his death on 12 August 1484, has been regarded as marking a turning point in the history of the papacy due to the pope's

²⁵ For the earlier career of Sixtus IV, see R Aubenas and R Ricard, *L'Église et la Renaissance (1449-1517)*, Histoire de l'Église XV (Paris, 1951), 74; L von Pastor, *History of the Popes IV*, translated by F I Antrobus (London, 1900), 204-9; E Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome, 1978), 11-29

²⁶ E Lee, 'Sixtus IV, his court and Rome: concluding remarks', in *Un Pontificato ed una città Sisto IV (1471-1484)*, Atti del convegno Roma 3-7 Dicembre 1984 a cura di Massimo Miglio, Francesca Niutta, Diego Quaglioni, Concetta Ranieri (Città del Vaticano, 1986), 761

increasing concern with secular affairs and his virtual transformation into an Italian sovereign.²⁷ It can be divided into three main areas: political matters, including Italian wars and the Turkish question; developments in the ecclesiastical sphere, including the increasing Italianisation of the *curia* and nepotism; and patronage of the arts, including urban planning in Rome. The theme of the prestige of the papacy transcends all three areas. The following discussion provides merely a summary of several of the main issues under these three broad areas, but it is by no means an exhaustive account.

Political matters

The pontificate occurred at a turbulent time in Italian political terms and Pope Sixtus has been criticised for losing sight of his role as head of Christendom and as international arbitrator by throwing himself headlong into Italian quarrels.²⁸

Although the Italian League had been formed following the Peace of Lodi in 1454, an uneasy tension between the states existed thereafter with minor wars continuing.²⁹

A particular threat to the balance of power was caused by the assassination of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duke of Milan, in December 1476.³⁰ By the late 1470s the war of Tuscany involved the papacy and Ferrante, king of Naples in an alliance

²⁷ . . . *il faut reconnaître qu'avec ce pontife la papauté commence à changer de caractère: comme on l'a dit souvent, dès lors le pape tend à devenir un souverain italien plutôt qu'à rester le chef spirituel de la Chrétienté*; R Aubenas and R Ricard, *op.cit.*, 75

²⁸ *En se plongeant dans les querelles italiennes, il a perdu de vue le rôle de chef spirituel de la Chrétienté et d'arbitre international qui devait être le sien.*; *ibid.*, 87

²⁹ Denys Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1966), 185-6

³⁰ L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 290-1

against Florence, Venice, Milan and the king of France. However, Naples changed sides in December 1479. The war of Ferrara (1482-4) saw the pope firstly in alliance with Venice against Naples and Ferrara. Peace was concluded with King Ferrante on 12 December 1482 and subsequently the papacy was allied with Milan, Florence, Mantua, the Bentivoglio of Bologna, Naples and Ferrara in opposition to Venice.³¹

Of prime concern to the papacy was the maintenance of order within the papal states. This was not only a question of the possession of territory but also of revenue which could be disrupted, as occurred following the murder of Gabriello Catalani, lord of Todi in 1474. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was sent to restore peace but the trouble spread to Spoleto and Città di Castello with Milan, Florence and Naples supporting the rebels. Città di Castello eventually fell after the intervention of Count Federigo of Urbino who had been appealed to by the pope.³²

The possession of Imola in the northern part of the papal states also provoked action from Pope Sixtus. In 1473 the duke of Milan sold Imola to the Florentines, a move which disturbed the pope due to the resulting expansion of Florentine power. Sixtus managed to persuade the duke to revoke the sale and to sell the territory to the papacy instead. This purchase was funded by the Pazzi who then replaced the Florentine de' Medici as papal bankers. Imola was subsequently bestowed upon Girolamo Riario, a papal nephew, as a fief.³³ For this and several other reasons the

³¹ For the wars of Tuscany and Ferrara, see R Aubenas and R Ricard, *op. cit.*, 77-8; L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 313-30, 348-86; E Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, 39-40

³² L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 262-8

³³ *ibid.*, 249-50, 293

papacy was to find itself in opposition to Lorenzo de' Medici,³⁴ and one of the most notable political events during the pontificate was the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478. A plot was formed to assassinate Lorenzo de' Medici and his brother Giuliano on 26 April 1478 in Florence cathedral during ceremonies in honour of Cardinal Raffaele Sansoni Riario (a nephew of the pope); the main conspirators being Francesco de' Pazzi, Girolamo Riario and Francesco Salviati, archbishop of Pisa. The plot was only half successful: although Giuliano was stabbed to death, Lorenzo escaped.

While the pope was not actively involved, it would appear that he may have known about the plot and his excommunication of Lorenzo on 1 June 1478, followed by a papal interdict on Florentine territory on 20 June, on the basis of Lorenzo's authorising of the execution of churchmen involved in the plot, have been seen as an abuse of his spiritual authority in political affairs.³⁵

In the realm of politics external threats had also to be faced, particularly in relation to the Turkish question.³⁶ In an alliance with Usunhassan, the Turcoman prince who was opposed to the Sultan Mahomet II, a Christian fleet under the command of Cardinal Carafa was able to take Smyrna in 1472. In July 1473, though, the Turks defeated Usunhassan at Terdschan. Further incursion by the forces of the Turks was to follow resulting in the fall of Caffa, a Genoese colony on 6 June 1475. By January 1479, with the threat to territory in the north of Italy, Venice signed a peace

³⁴ For a discussion of these reasons, see *ibid.*, 292-9

³⁵ R Aubenas and R Ricard, *op. cit.*, 76-8. See also, L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 300-12; E Lee, *op. cit.*, 39

³⁶ For the Turkish question, see R Aubenas and R Ricard, *op. cit.*, 81-2; L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 217-29, 284-7, 331-47; Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: the Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453-1517)* (New York, 1969), 120-34

treaty with the Turks in order to maintain her trade with the east. The most alarming event, however, was the invasion of Otranto by Turkish forces on 11 August 1480, 'un événement inopiné et dramatique',³⁷ which caused widespread panic in Italy and made Sixtus consider fleeing to Avignon. A Christian fleet retook Otranto, though, on 10 September 1481 after the situation had been aided by the death of the Sultan Mahomet II in April of that year.

Developments in the ecclesiastical sphere

Although spiritual matters - such as the pope's concessions to the Franciscan order, the canonisation of St Bonaventure and the increasing importance of the Cult of the Virgin Mary - are factors to consider in the ecclesiastical sphere, the main foci are recognised to be bureaucratic developments in the *curia* and Sixtus' use of nepotism. The issue of papal finance also posed problems in the period.

In the later fifteenth century a major shift had occurred in the geographical origins of not only the members of the College of Cardinals, but also members of curial offices. In the second half of the fifteenth century it has been calculated that just over one half of cardinals were Italian.³⁸ Furthermore, Partner states that the '6:4 ratio of French officers to others in the Avignonese chancery was replaced by a 6:4

³⁷ R Aubenas and R Ricard, *op. cit.*, 77. See also, Robert Schwoebel, *op. cit.*, 131-2

³⁸ Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1990), 11 note 20, citing figures given by J F Broderick - '52% of 'Renaissance' (1447-1513) cardinals were Italian, and 18% French'. In addition, Italian cardinals were more active in the *curia*: J A F Thomson, *Popes and Princes 1417-1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London, 1980), 63-4

ratio in favour of the Italians to others, during the period 1471-1527.³⁹ He goes on to explain that the increasing Italianisation of the *curia* was largely attributable to the practice of selling offices such as that of abbreviator. In addition new colleges of venal offices were established. For example, in 1483 Sixtus IV created a college of 72 papal notaries.⁴⁰ Additional taxes were also introduced, such as that of *compositio* which was to be paid to the Datary on collation to a benefice.⁴¹ Such measures were in response to the increasing financial difficulties faced by the pope partly as a result of his involvement in Italian wars and the threat posed by the Turks. There was also the fact that papal revenue had decreased due to conciliar legislation and so new methods of raising finance had to be sought.⁴²

Probably one of the most controversial aspects of the pontificate was Sixtus' extensive use of nepotism. Six nephews or great-nephews of the pope were raised to the cardinalate: Pietro Riario and Giuliano della Rovere in the first promotion on 16 December 1471 at the ages of twenty-five and twenty-eight respectively; Cristoforo

³⁹ Peter Partner, *op. cit.*, 9. Partner's calculation is based on data provided by T Frenz. This data further highlights the decline in French officials; T Frenz, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance (1471-1527)*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rome, Band 63 (Tübingen, 1986), 241

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, 11, 199. For the implications of the institution of venal offices, see also L J Macfarlane, *op. cit.*, 459

⁴¹ L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 420. Cf. L Celier, *Les Dataires du xv^e siècle et les origines de la Daterie Apostolique*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 103 (Paris, 1910), 89-90 where it is claimed that compositions were paid to the Datary from at least the pontificate of Pius II (1458-64).

⁴² For a brief discussion regarding papal finance, see Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977), 38-40. One development was an increase in numbers of indulgences being granted; a development which R W Southern has seen as part of an inflationary spiral in the history of the papacy. Such an increase in effect led to devaluation of the grace, see R W Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, The Penguin History of the Church II (London, 1990), 136-43

della Rovere, Girolamo Basso della Rovere and Raffaele Sansoni Riario (at the age of seventeen) on 10 December 1477; and Domenico della Rovere on 10 February 1478, following the death of his brother Cristoforo on 1 February 1478.⁴³ The accumulation of benefices by these relatives is a marked feature. For example, Giuliano della Rovere was bishop of Carpentras before being elevated to the cardinalate as cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli. In the course of his career he held the bishoprics of Lausanne, Coutances, Viviers, Mendes, Bologna, Savona, Vercelli, Sabina, Ostia, and the archbishopric and legation of Avignon.⁴⁴ In a similar way, Pietro Riario's annual income from benefices was said to have been more than 50,000 ducats.⁴⁵

Nepotism was a feature of the times, however, and its practice in the papacy has been defended on the basis of the importance of trust between the pope and his closest advisers and that it was the best means to promote the pontiff's views in the College of Cardinals.⁴⁶ What was new, though, was the use of nepotism in a secular context. For example, Sixtus was heavily dependent on another nephew, Girolamo Riario, the brother of Pietro. In 1472 Girolamo married Caterina Sforza, natural daughter of Galeazzo Maria Sforza, duke of Milan, and by 1480 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Church.⁴⁷ Furthermore, Pietro Riario was 'authorized to

⁴³ L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 235, 411-13

⁴⁴ Nicholas Clark, *Melozzo da Forlì: Pictor Papalis* (London, 1990), 90 note 2

⁴⁵ E Lee, *op. cit.*, 33

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 38; R Aubenas and R Ricard, *op. cit.*, 74: *En effet, en face du bloc des cardinaux qui pouvaient lui être hostiles, le pape groupait des hommes de confiance susceptibles de faire prévaloir, à l'intérieur du Sacré Collège, les vues pontificales.* For the practice of nepotism at diocesan level in a Scottish context, see Leslie J Macfarlane, *op. cit.*, 221-2

⁴⁷ L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 247, 413

develop a brilliant court in Rome, which soon came to be used as a branch of the papal diplomatic machinery'.⁴⁸ The aim was to increase the prestige of the papacy and impress foreign visitors when opportunities arose. For example, it was Pietro Riario who hosted a banquet in honour of Eleonora of Aragon, daughter of King Ferrante of Naples, in June 1473.⁴⁹ Riario died in January 1474 having been a cardinal for just over two years, during which time he had spent around 200,000-300,000 gold florins and on his death he left debts of 60,000 florins.⁵⁰

Patronage of the arts

Sixtus IV and several of the cardinals were notable patrons of architecture and art during the pontificate. Numerous examples can be cited of the reconditioning of existing buildings and the building of new structures. In particular the building programme initiated by Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville, apostolic chamberlain (1477-83), deserves mention. D'Estouteville not only caused the northern entrance to the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore and the church of San Agostino to be built, but also walls, streets and houses in Ostia of which he was bishop. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere's building work included his titular church of San Pietro in Vincoli, Santi Apostoli, and the castles of Grottaferrata and Ostia.⁵¹

⁴⁸ E Lee, *op. cit.*, 33

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 34-5; L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 243-4. Pastor states that the banquet 'in its sumptuous and unreasonable luxury, recalled the heathen days of Imperial Rome.' It lasted for six hours and consisted of three courses with a total of forty-four dishes.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, 253-4

⁵¹ *ibid.*, 457-8; E Lee, *op. cit.*, 144

Such building work was not executed in isolation. It should rather be seen as part of a larger effort initiated by Pope Sixtus to improve the aesthetics of the Eternal City and accordingly to enhance the prestige of the papacy. The work had begun in advance of the year of the papal Jubilee in 1475, an occasion which would bring large numbers of pilgrims to the city. In 1473 or 1474 Sixtus had ordered the rebuilding of the Ponte Rotto, a bridge over the Tiber, which was renamed Ponte Sisto. The Aqueduct between Aqua Virgo and Rome was cleaned and extended and many roads and streets were repaired; for example, streets were paved between the bridge of Sant' Angelo and the Vatican.⁵² Building operations were to continue throughout the pontificate and Lee regards Sixtus' contribution as being 'more important than those of earlier popes, not only because he pursued with greater energy what they had begun, but because he provided legislation which encouraged building and facilitated expropriation.'⁵³ Thus a specific programme of urban planning was conducted, the aim of which was to make Rome *caput urbis*.⁵⁴

The restoration of the hospital of Santo Spirito in Saxia was of particular concern to Sixtus. Building work was conducted there between 1473 and 1482, with the confraternity of the Holy Spirit being reconstituted in 1478. In that year Sixtus became a member of this religious corporation as did all the cardinals and members of the papal court. The pope's keenness to project the image of the papacy can be seen from the interior decoration of the hospital. In the hall for the sick there were a number of frescoes with a set of panels above them. As well as depicting the

⁵² L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 273-8; E Lee, *op. cit.*, 127-30

⁵³ *ibid.*, 134. See also L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 453-6 for further examples of work undertaken.

⁵⁴ E Lee, *op. cit.*, 135

foundation of the hospital by Innocent III, the paintings on these panels displayed Sixtus' own life.⁵⁵

The prestige of the papacy was projected in other contemporary works of arts. Sixtus was responsible for implementing the building and early decoration of the Sistine chapel in the Vatican. The frescoes painted by artists including Rosselli, Ghirlandaio, Botticelli and Perugino illustrate the lives of Moses and Christ. Furthermore a linear descent can be traced from Moses to Christ and finally to St Peter who is depicted receiving the keys to the kingdom of Heaven. According to Lee, 'The character of the papacy, the fulness of its power, and the condemnation of conciliarism form the main theme of the Sistine paintings.'⁵⁶

An official papal painter was appointed by Sixtus. Melozzo da Forlì also experienced the patronage of several cardinals and papal nephews, particularly Stefano Nardini, cardinal of Milan, Giuliano della Rovere, and Girolamo Riario. Melozzo was entrusted with the painting of the Vatican library which Sixtus had caused to be refounded, besides receiving commissions for work in the church of Santi Apostoli. It was Melozzo too who painted possibly one of the most striking images of the pontificate. The composition of his group portrait of Sixtus IV surrounded by four of his nephews - Giovanni della Rovere, Girolamo Riario, Giuliano della Rovere, and Raffaele Sansoni Riario - and Platina, prefect of the

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, 137-41; L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 460-2. See also, Nicholas Clark, *op. cit.*, 27 where one of these paintings (portraying Sixtus and his nephews in the Vatican library) is reproduced.

⁵⁶ E Lee, *op. cit.*, 147. See also L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 465-71

Vatican library has been dated to 1480-1.⁵⁷ It has been described as 'a shameless celebration of nepotism',⁵⁸ and the family insignia of acorns and oak leaves on the architecture surrounding the figures serve to emphasise the Della Rovere family's prominent position in society.

Thus, the papacy was a multi-faceted institution with interests in both spiritual and temporal affairs. In comparison with secular rulers, Pope Sixtus sought to raise the profile of his own family and develop ways in which financial resources could be increased. It is into this context, then, that the Scottish supplications must be placed. Before assessing groups of supplicants and the issues with which they were concerned in their supplications, though, it will be necessary to discuss the source in detail and explain the methodology which has been employed in the study.

⁵⁷ Nicholas Clark, *op. cit.*, 28. See *ibid.*, 103 for a reproduction of the portrait
⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 21

Chapter 1 - Source and Methodology

Source

Registra Supplicationum

The *Registra Supplicationum* are registers containing copies of successful supplications made to the pope by supplicants from all areas of Christendom. They are contained within the Vatican Archives and form part of the archives of the Datary, a department which was established in the fifteenth century.¹ In total there are 7,365 volumes of these supplications covering the period 1342-1899, although the series is incomplete.² For example, for the pontificate of Sixtus IV losses amount to twenty-eight volumes.³ Each volume tends to consist of twenty quinterni - that is, around 300 folios (twenty bundles of fifteen folios). The folios are of paper and measure approximately 42 cm by 29 cm.⁴

¹ The department of the Datary developed from the Chancery. The *Datararius* was originally responsible for affixing dates to supplications but his duties were increased during the pontificate of Sixtus IV and the office gradually became more financial in nature. See L E Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972), 50; J A F Thomson, *Popes and Princes 1417-1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London, 1980), 86-7; L Celier, *Les Dataires du xv^e siècle et les origines de la Daterie Apostolique*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 103 (Paris, 1910), 22-5, 71-8, 87-90

² P Bruno Katterbach, *Inventario dei Registri delle Suppliche* (Città del Vaticano, 1932), xvii. Losses were incurred partly as a result of the removal of large sections of archival holdings to Paris on the orders of Napoleon during the Napoleonic wars; L E Boyle, *op. cit.*, 11

³ P Bruno Katterbach, *op. cit.*, xv

⁴ P Bruno Katterbach, *Specimina Supplicationum ex Registris Vaticanis* (Rome, 1927), xiv

Supplications, being legal documents, are by nature formulaic and begin with an address to the pope, such as *Beatissime Pater supplicat Sanctitati Vestre devotus orator vester* . . . The main text of the supplication follows. This contains the request being made and any relevant background information - this may be a narrative of previous events explaining why the particular request should be granted. At the end of this section is a result clause which is signed *Fiat* if the request was signed by the pope or *Concessum* if signed by the vice-chancellor or *Concessum in presentia domini nostri Pape* if signed by a referendary. There then follow any restrictions which are to be enforced concerning the grace, together with notwithstanding clauses listing rules of Chancery which would otherwise contravene the grant. These received a signature also. At the bottom is entered a place-date. At the top left hand corner of the majority of supplications the initial letter or letters of the diocese concerned can be found and in many cases in the left hand margin of the supplication a rubric is given defining the supplication type; for example, *Resignatio* or *Nova Provisio*. The name of the referendary who presented the petition to the pope is written at the top right hand side.⁵

Due to rules of Chancery it was important that certain information be included; for example, that dioceses and benefice values be stated and that details of any defect of birth be given (although dispensations could be given to permit the omission of defect of birth in subsequent supplications). Omission of any essential information

⁵ For the structure and signing of supplications, see *ibid.*, v-vi, ix-xii. Referendaries were also responsible for examining supplications before they were presented to the pope, see *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1418-1422*, Scottish History Society, third series, XXIII, edd E R Lindsay and A I Cameron (Edinburgh, 1934), xiv and note 1

would result in the supplication being invalid and a new supplication would require to be made - often of the type *Reformatio* specifying the necessary corrections or additions. A supplicant would also be careful to mention any connections with important people, such as the king or a cardinal, and any qualifications which he possessed along with nobility of birth since those who were of noble birth and had qualifications were liable to receive greater graces.⁶ Similarly presence or residence in the *curia* was regarded as beneficial. For example, several Scottish supplications from the pontificate of Eugenius IV mention that there was a rule that 'those having Expectative Graces who have been in the Roman Curia continually for six months should be preferred over all others absent from Rome'.⁷

A cleric could either present his supplication in person or employ a procurator to act on his behalf. Alternatively the king, a member of the nobility or a high-ranking prelate could supplicate on behalf of their clients. Although rolls of supplications,

⁶ For example, dispensations to hold incompatible benefices were more extensive for graduates and those who were of noble birth; *ibid.*, xviii note 1.

⁷ *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447*, edd A I Dunlop and D MacLauchlan (Glasgow, 1983), 28 (No. 116). This rule is referred to on a number of occasions in this volume, for example, 147 (Nos. 619, 620, 622), 189 (No. 777), 261-2 (No. 1051). It is not clear when the rule was constituted but it is not referred to in supplications from the pontificate of Sixtus IV, although supplicants do mention their presence or residence in *curia*; see, for example, Supp. Nos. 1520, 62, 232. Presumably similar precedence was granted and perhaps no mention was made of a specific rule because the procedure was long established. A further example of the importance of presence in *curia* can be found in a supplication of 14 December 1459 in which Alexander Rait refers to his provision to the canonry and prebend of Moneydie in Dunkeld diocese, a benefice which was also provided by the pope to Gilbert Forrester on the same day. Rait mentions that he 'is continually resident in the Roman Court' and the importance of his presence in *curia* to his right to the benefice can be seen by the result clause of the supplication: *Concessum quod preferatur in pari data ut petitur si alius tempore impetrationis erat absens in presentia domini nostri Pape*. Thus Rait was to be preferred if Forrester had been absent from the *curia* on the day of provision; *Reg. Supp.* 526,47

whether from a university, prelate or member of nobility, were a regular feature in the fourteenth century, by the late fifteenth century they were less common.⁸

Supplications could also be granted in the form *motu proprio* in which case the supplicant would appear to receive a grant made on the pope's own initiative. A petition, however, lay behind such grants. The main benefit was that the grace would have stronger validity. For example, in the assecution of benefices those who had received a grace *motu proprio* had precedence over those without. The *motu proprio* form features particularly in the case of supplications made by cardinals and curialists.⁹

A substantial number of Scottish clergy were present in *curia* at some stage during the 1470-84 period. Approximately 27 supplicants specifically mentioned their own presence in the Roman Court in their supplications. A further 23 individuals died in the Roman Court, although dates of death are not always clear. To this can be added clergy who were there on official business of the king such as Duncan Bully and Thomas Ramsay, and familiars of the pope and of cardinals.¹⁰ Furthermore, a number of supplicants desired to be promoted to holy orders within the Roman Court.¹¹ Thus it is likely that a reasonable number of Scots were able to oversee the processing of their supplications in person, although there is no evidence to suggest that they shared the enthusiasm to have their petitions read of certain supplicants during the early years of the pontificate of Clement VI (1342-52):

⁸ P Bruno Katterbach, *op. cit.*, vii-viii; L E Boyle, *op. cit.*, 151

⁹ P Bruno Katterbach, *op. cit.*, vii. See pages 167-8 below

¹⁰ See pages 78-93, 96-110, 118-28 below

¹¹ See pages 158-62 below

- Whereas certain persons, as we have frequently learned from experience, casting from them their regard for decent manners, and the reverence due to Ourselves, have presumptuously dared, and still do dare, when We are in consistory, and at other times when We are riding, to cast before Us, and sometimes upon Us, their petitions, in which they even wrap up stones, to Our perturbation . . .¹²

Fifteenth century evidence of a more organised method of transporting supplications does exist, though. Among the inventory of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga was a *sacheta da supplicatione* - a bag for supplications.¹³ Gonzaga was one of several cardinals who had Scottish connections.¹⁴ Furthermore, in a letter of 16 January 1410 to his own procurator at the *curia* William Swan, an English procurator, mentions that amongst his possessions was *item quaternum cum supplicationibus* - a quire with petitions.¹⁵ These examples raise the issues of patronage and of the use of procurators.¹⁶ The former issue will be dealt with in depth later but unfortunately the latter is an issue which the Scottish supplications reveal very little about. Nevertheless it is possible that several of those who were present in the *curia* were employed to ensure the processing of supplications for their compatriots.¹⁷

¹² *Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope, 1342-1419*, ed W H Bliss (London, 1896), vii

¹³ D S Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444-1483)* (London, 1992), 165

¹⁴ See section on Scottish Familiars of Cardinals below, pages 96-110

¹⁵ E F Jacob, 'To and from the Court of Rome in the early fifteenth century', in E F Jacob, *Essays in Later Medieval History* (New York, 1968), 62, 73

¹⁶ For the duties of procurators, see E F Jacob, *op. cit.*, 59. For a discussion of procurators in the context of batches of papal letters, see *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XVI (1492-1498)*, ed A P Fuller (Dublin, 1986), xxxii-xxxv

¹⁷ See section on Procurators below, pages 115-17

The actual procedure for the processing of supplications and the subsequent expedition of papal letters, if they were desired, was a fairly complex one involving several departments of the *curia*. The main stages can be summarised briefly. Firstly the supplication was given to the Referendary who examined it before presenting it for signature. Then, after the date was written in the Datary, the petition was copied by a scribe into a *quinternus* in the Registry of Supplications. This copy was checked against the original and then an Abbreviator in the Chancery drafted a minute of the original. From this minute a papal letter was then drawn up. At various stages checking was done and fees were paid to the officials concerned.¹⁸ In the case of petitioners who did not possess sufficient qualifications and who sought provision to benefices, they were examined as to their competence in the Office of Examinations before the minute was drafted.¹⁹

Number and types of Scottish supplications

Table 1 below shows the number of Scottish supplications for the period from January 1470 until 12 August 1484 when there were on average approximately 80 *per annum*. Nearly 1,200 supplications have been processed for the database for the period 1470 to 1484. As can be seen the peak year was 1477 when there were 133 Scottish supplications. The most barren year was 1481 when there were only 34

¹⁸ The clearest account of the process is provided in L E Boyle, 'The Papal Chancery at the end of the Fifteenth Century', introduction to *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, XV (1484-1492), ed M J Haren (Dublin, 1978), xv-xviii. See also, G Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon 1305-1378*, translated by Janet Love (Edinburgh, 1963), 288-93; G Mollat, 'Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques en Occident', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, II, ed R Naz (Paris, 1937), cols 420-3

¹⁹ *ibid.*, col 421; G Mollat, *op. cit.*, 290

supplications. The figure for 1484 does not represent the full calendar year but takes into account supplications only until the death of Pope Sixtus on 12 August.

Table 1 - Numbers of Scottish supplications 1470-84

Year	No. of Scottish supplications	Year	No. of Scottish supplications
1470	62	1478	99
1471	75	1479	91
1472	87	1480	46
1473	67	1481	34
1474	58	1482	72
1475	111	1483	124
1476	99	1484	36
1477	133		

One problem in producing statistics for numbers of supplications is the duplication of supplications. There are several instances of the same or a similar supplication being made twice or more.²⁰ Sometimes the duplicates contain variants of spellings of personal and place names but at other times different numerical values can occur for the fruits of benefices. It is not clear why this duplication occurs; for example,

²⁰ For example, cf. Supp. Nos. 109, 109.1; 326, 333.1; 684, 684.1

whether it was an administrative error at the referral or copying stage. Duplications, though, can have different dates and so would appear to have been referred to the pope on separate occasions. For the purposes of all statistics the duplicates have been counted as separate supplications.

Papal supplications have been defined as being 'technically petitions addressed to the Pope, begging grace or justice'.²¹ In his survey of fifteenth century papal letters to England John Thomson writes of petitioners seeking dispensations, pardons and favours, a procedure 'prompted by the desire for spiritual well-being'.²² It can be argued that with the exception of lay people seeking marriage dispensations, which represents a very small number of supplications, the bulk of Scottish supplications concerning members of clergy deal with some issue of benefice holding and that any dispensations, pardons and favours largely concern their ability to retain or obtain benefices.

The supplications are of various types which include: *Per Obitum* and *Resignatio* (including petitions for the holding of a benefice through the death or resignation of an incumbent); *Dispensatio* (including the seeking of dispensations to hold incompatible benefices or to hold benefices notwithstanding the supplicant's defect of birth); *Surrogatio* (the supplicant seeking to be surrogated in place of a litigant in a litigation case concerning a disputed benefice); *Pensio* (petitions seeking the reservation of a pension to be paid by an incumbent to the previous holder or

²¹ In introduction to E R Lindsay and A I Cameron, *op. cit.*, xii

²² J A F Thomson, "'The Well of Grace': Englishmen and Rome in the Fifteenth Century", in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 110

perhaps to a litigant who has resigned all right competent to him in the benefice); *Privatio* (supplicants seeking the deprivation of a benefice holder from a benefice due perhaps to the latter's conduct or to his illegitimate holding of incompatible benefices); and *Nova Provisio* (supplications seeking confirmation of a previous provision).

All of these types can be found among the Scottish supplications, the most frequent being *Nova Provisio*, *Dispensatio* and *Per Obitum* along with the types involving litigation including *Si Neutri*, *Si Nulli*, *Cessio* and *Surrogatio*.²³ It is difficult to be precise as to numbers due to the fact that there can be some overlap since supplications can fall into more than one type; for example, *Cessio cum surrogatione cum pensione* and *Per obitum cum dispensatione et cum pensione*.²⁴ The greater the number of supplications in any one year, the greater is the variation in supplication types. For example, in 1483 there were fifty distinct rubrics compared to twenty in 1481. Nevertheless, when number of supplications of the seven most frequent types listed above are added, statistics show that these types account for between approximately 38% and 57% of supplications *per annum* in the period 1470-84.²⁵ Indeed the figure only drops below 40% in three years - 1472, 1481 and 1484. In the first instance this may be explained by the fact that 1472 marked the beginning of the pontificate and so presumably there would be more variation as supplicants sought favours from a new pope. The other two years cannot be taken as representative since in 1481 there were particularly few

²³ It should be noted that supplications of the *Cessio* type do not always involve litigation.

²⁴ Supp. Nos. 472, 650

²⁵ This analysis is based on supplications which have rubrics.

supplications in a difficult political situation and in 1484 the statistics do not represent the full calendar year.

One of the most striking features to note is the high percentage of the *Dispensatio* type in 1476. In that year at least 27% of supplications fall into this category whilst the other main types amount to about 15% based on a simple analysis of rubrics.²⁶ This desire for dispensations may reflect a response to the Jubilee Year of 1475 but it should be noted that the percentage is over 20% for each of the years from 1474 to 1477 inclusive. Also in the years 1479 and 1482 there are high percentages of supplications of the type *Per Obitum* - 19% in each of these years. These figures are inflated partly as a result of the deaths of the papal familiar, Alexander Rait in 1479 and of the cardinal familiar, Giles Boyce in 1482. The *Nova Provisio* type displays no particular noteworthy pattern, although there were no supplications of this type in 1481. In the case of the litigation types the range is from 2% (in 1483) to 23% (in 1471).²⁷ It is difficult to draw any conclusion, though, from this result since supplications of the litigation types often concern disputes of long duration and so a high percentage does not necessarily reflect increased litigation in the year concerned.

²⁶ In six other years, though, the figure is also over 20%: 1471, 1474, 1475, 1477, 1480, and 1483

²⁷ In both 1473 and 1482 the figure is approximately 22%.

Number and trend of Scottish supplications

It is impossible to ascertain what percentage of the total number of supplications made during the pontificate of Sixtus IV is represented by the Scottish supplications of the period. This can be attributed partly to the fact that there is no detailed index to the contents of the registers in question, thus no total number of supplications can be determined, and also that relatively few other countries have undertaken a systematic survey of the registers to extract their own native entries as has been the case in Scotland. Despite the fact that supplications material has been published in the Netherlands and Hungary, for example, concentration of resources has tended to be on the fourteenth century.²⁸

The only possibility for comparison is rather tenuous as like cannot easily be compared with like. Although it would be technically possible to add together the number of folios of the Scottish supplications and calculate the percentage of the total number of folios in the registers, this would not take into account duplication of supplications nor would it serve as a guide to the distribution of supplications by country.²⁹ Thus a considerable amount of effort would be required to produce a highly speculative result. Potentially the most useful calculation would be one

²⁸ Examples of publications include: R R Post, *Supplieken gericht aan de pausen Clemens VI, Innocentius VI en Urbanus V, 1342-66*, Studien van het Nederlandsch historisch Instituut te Rome, II (The Hague, 1937); and B Árpád, *Regesta supplicationum. Avignoni korszak*, 2 vols [1342-1394] (Budapest, 1916, 1918). For further information regarding publication of supplications material, see L E Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972), 17, 51, 149-53

²⁹ Annie I Dunlop recorded lengths of supplications on her slips, thus in theory making it possible to calculate amount of space devoted to Scottish supplications. This practice, however, was not continued for supplications post 1479.

which would illustrate trends; in other words, one which would show whether or not the Scottish supplications followed the general quantitative pattern of the registers. Although in theory this could be done according to a comparison of numbers of folios a less time-consuming calculation has been found which, it is suggested, has produced some meaningful results.

The principal source for this calculation is P Bruno Katterbach's inventory of the *Registra Supplicationum* which was published posthumously in 1932.³⁰ This work consists of a list of registers with their old and new numbering, number of folios, book numbers (given during the pontificate), dates covered, and further information such as title or condition of the volumes. The list is divided by pontificate with further sub-division by pontifical *annum*. Not only does the inventory list extant registers but it also provides information as to registers now lost. For the pontificate of Sixtus IV there are 177 *libri esistenti* (volumes remaining) and 28 *libri mancanti* (volumes lost).³¹ The greatest losses occur in *anni* 1, 3 and 10 of the pontificate when the losses are 6, 5 and 4 volumes respectively. This represents a loss of 35%, 26% and 40% for these years.³²

The following graphs illustrate the general trends as determined by the number of extant registers, the number of Scottish supplications and the number of folios in the registers. *Figure 1* shows the number of registers *per annum* during the pontificate

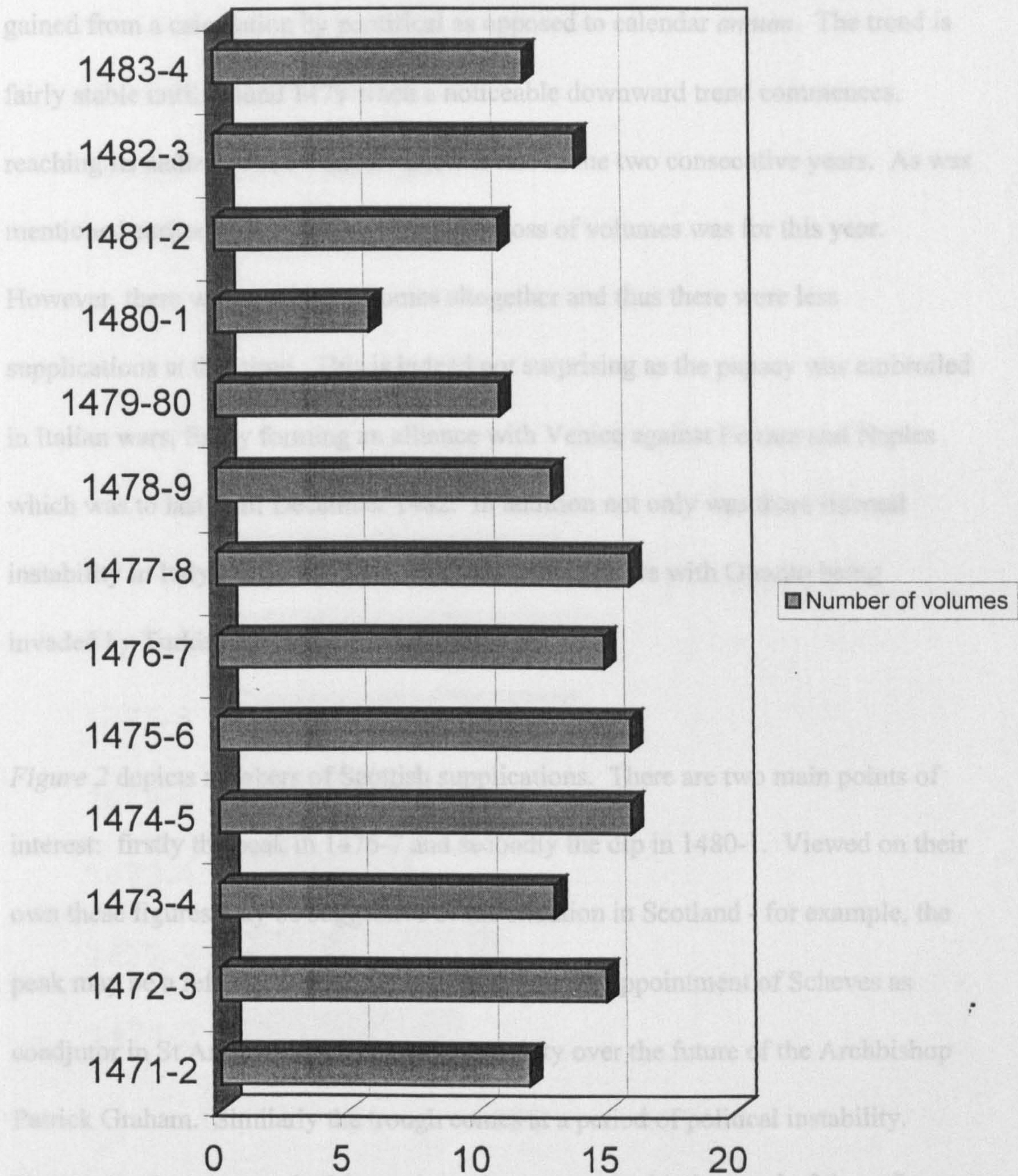
³⁰ P Bruno Katterbach, *Inventario dei Registri delle Suppliche* (Città del Vaticano, 1932)

³¹ *ibid*, xv. More than half of the lost volumes were already lost by the time of the pontificate of Urban VIII (1623-44), see 44-53 *passim*

³² *ibid*, 44-5, 46, 51. For *anno* 1, 6 of the 17 *libri* are now lost. The figures for *anni* 3 and 10 are 5 out of 19 and 4 out of 10 respectively.

Figure 1

Number of registers per annum



See pages 10-13 above

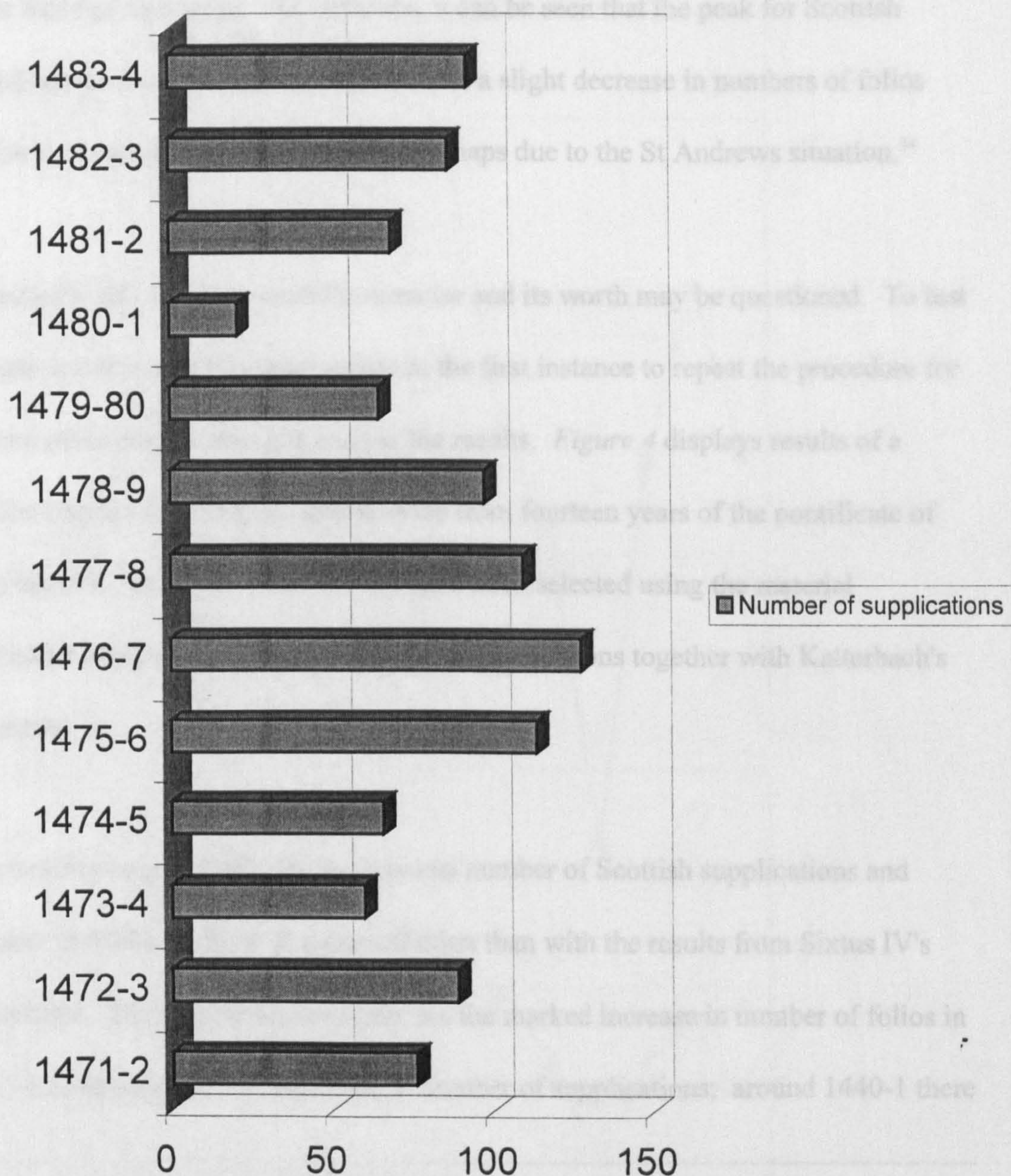
of Sixtus IV. The range is from 6 to 16, the average being 13, although it should be noted that there is some overlap and the delineation is not completely strict. For example, one of the registers from *anno* 2 of the pontificate (1472-3) contains supplications covering *anni* 1-11 (1471-82). Nevertheless, a more accurate guide is gained from a calculation by pontifical as opposed to calendar *annum*. The trend is fairly stable until around 1479 when a noticeable downward trend commences, reaching its nadir in 1480-1 before another rise in the two consecutive years. As was mentioned earlier the highest percentage of loss of volumes was for this year. However, there were only 10 volumes altogether and thus there were less supplications at that time. This is indeed not surprising as the papacy was embroiled in Italian wars, firstly forming an alliance with Venice against Ferrara and Naples which was to last until December 1482. In addition not only was there internal instability in Italy as the Turkish threat was also a feature with Otranto being invaded by Turkish forces in August 1480.³³

Figure 2 depicts numbers of Scottish supplications. There are two main points of interest: firstly the peak in 1476-7 and secondly the dip in 1480-1. Viewed on their own these figures may be suggestive of the situation in Scotland - for example, the peak may be a reflection of instability following the appointment of Scheves as coadjutor in St Andrews in 1476 and uncertainty over the future of the Archbishop Patrick Graham. Similarly the trough comes at a period of political instability. However, when the trend of the registers is compared with the trend of these figures, it is apparent that the trough is part of the general trend and so on reflection

³³ See pages 10-13 above

Figure 2

Number of Scottish supplications per annum



does not appear to be a peculiarly Scottish phenomenon. This is highlighted more clearly in *Figure 3* which shows numbers of Scottish supplications for each year of Sixtus' pontificate along with numbers of folios in the Registers. The scale of the graph is inaccurate as the numbers of Scottish supplications have been multiplied by 10 to highlight the trend. Nevertheless, it can be seen that the peak for Scottish supplications comes at a time when there is a slight decrease in numbers of folios and so this may be a Scottish feature - perhaps due to the St Andrews situation.³⁴

Admittedly this is a non-scientific exercise and its worth may be questioned. To test its usefulness it would be appropriate in the first instance to repeat the procedure for several other pontificates and analyse the results. *Figure 4* displays results of a similar enquiry for Scottish supplications from fourteen years of the pontificate of Eugenius IV. *Anni* 3 to 16 (1433-47) have been selected using the material published in the fourth volume of Scottish supplications together with Katterbach's inventory.³⁵

The trend is overall fairly similar between number of Scottish supplications and number of folios but there is more variation than with the results from Sixtus IV's pontificate. The notable features here are the marked increase in number of folios in 1435-6 as opposed to a steadier rise in number of supplications; around 1440-1 there

³⁴ Analysis of rubrics reveals that there were a considerable number of supplications regarding dispensations in that pontifical year and that approximately 12% of supplications concerned pensions (a higher than average level for the period).

³⁵ *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447*, edd A I Dunlop and D MacLauchlan (Glasgow, 1983). Duplicate supplications have been counted as individual entries as have the three supplications on page 81 (number 329)

Figure 3

**Number of Scottish supplications and register folios
during the pontificate of Sixtus IV**

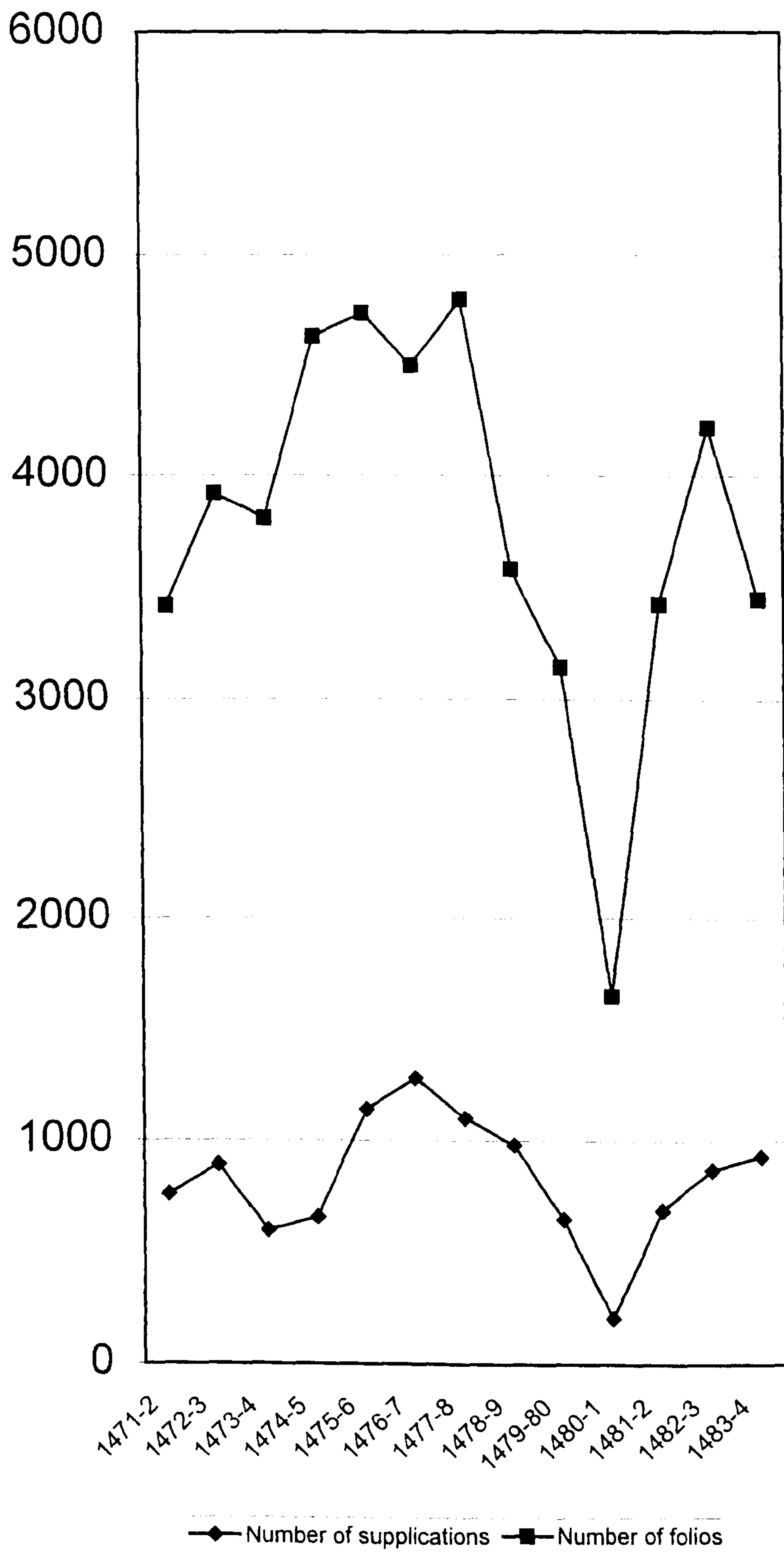
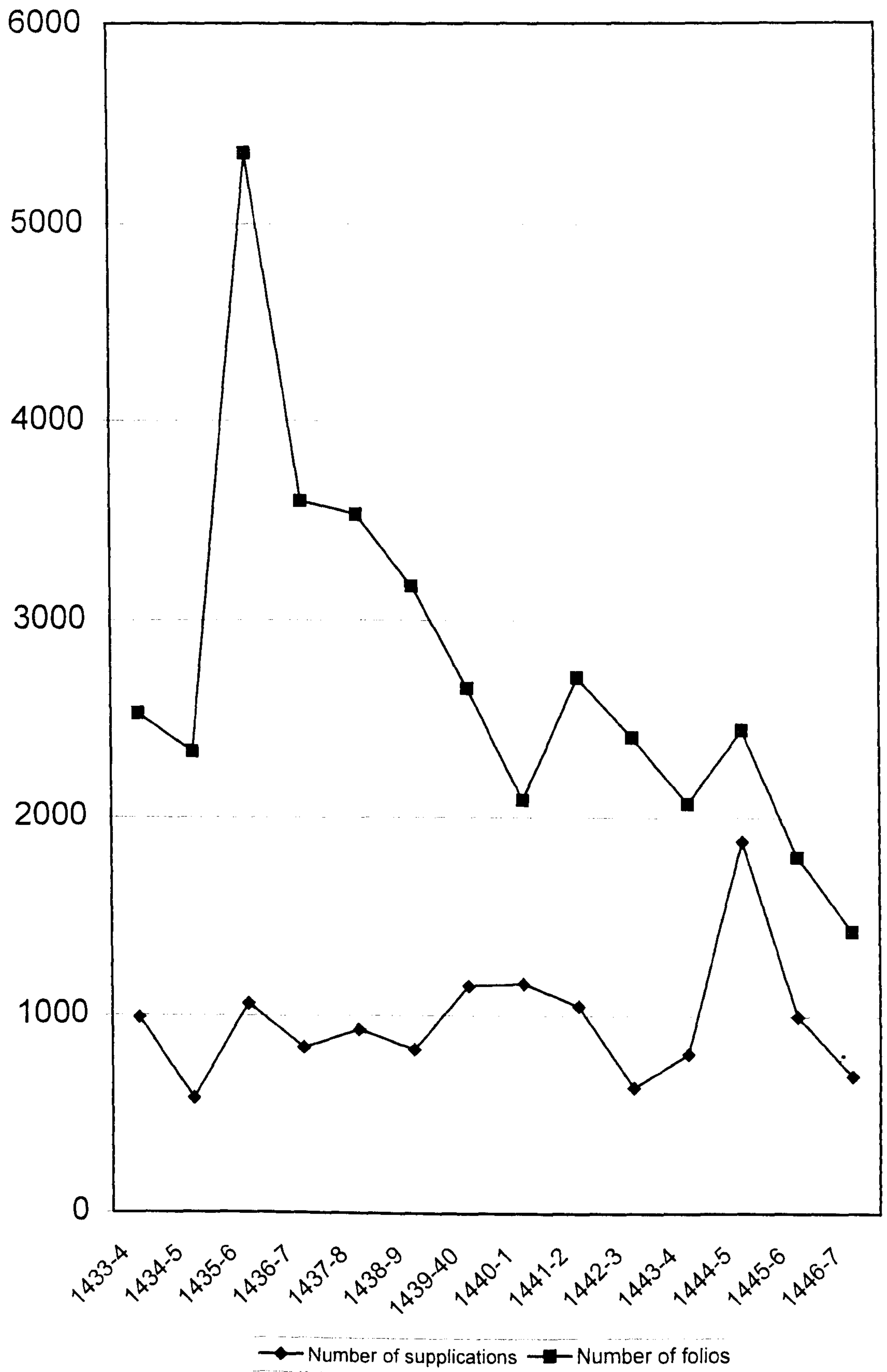


Figure 4

**Number of Scottish supplications and register folios
during the pontificate of Eugenius IV**



is some variation with number of supplications remaining static while the number of folios is decreasing; and in 1444-5 the number of supplications increases more sharply than the number of folios. The greater variation during this pontificate can probably be explained by the conflict between the papacy and conciliarism at this time. The marked rise in number of folios in 1435-6 may be connected with Eugenius' breach with the Council of Basle in 1436 and the decrease thereafter is likely to reflect division between the supporters of Eugenius IV and the conciliarists who deposed him in 1439 and elected Felix V in his place. Eugenius' travelling from Basle to Ferrara to Florence and finally to Rome may also have had some effect on numbers of supplicants. The trend regarding Scottish supplications is slightly steadier, the main exception being in 1444-5 - a time when the Douglas family had gained ascendancy in government. The Douglasses had tended to favour the conciliar movement until 1443 when they adopted a pro-papal stance.³⁶ It is possible that the difference in trends in 1440-1 is connected with William Turnbull's appointment as Keeper of the Privy Seal by August 1440 (Turnbull was a papal chamberlain and member of Eugenius' household) and the decision of the Three Estates to prohibit attendance at the Council of Basle in 1441.³⁷ Both events suggest a pro-papal governmental policy.

³⁶ For a brief account of the pontificate of Eugenius IV see Denys Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1966), 288-90. For Scottish relations with Pope Eugenius IV (and the Douglas ascendancy) see Christine McGladdery, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990), 25-9; R Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, Edinburgh History of Scotland II (Edinburgh, 1989), 295-8, 332-7

³⁷ McGladdery, *op. cit.*, 27

Table 2 below contrasts statistics from both pontificates and reveals that on average there were more Scottish supplications *per annum* during the earlier pontificate, despite the fact that there is a lesser number of extant registers and folios.

Furthermore, the losses of material are heavier for the whole of the pontificate of Eugenius with 153 *libri esistenti* and 50 *libri mancanti*.³⁸ Thus approximately 25% of material has been lost for this pontificate as opposed to 14% for that of Sixtus IV. All of this would suggest a decrease in numbers of Scottish supplications as a percentage of the whole in the second half of the fifteenth century. However, as stated earlier, such a hypothesis takes into account neither duplication nor length of supplications.

Table 2 - Number of Scottish supplications, registers and folios during the pontificates of Sixtus IV and Eugenius IV

Pontificate	Years of pontificate included	No. of years included	No. of extant registers	No. of Scottish supps.	No. of folios in extant registers
Sixtus IV	1471-84	13	170	1,076	49,299
Eugenius IV	1433-47 *	14	129	1,362	38,159

* The calculation begins in *anno* 3 of the pontificate to coincide with the published fourth volume of Scottish supplications

³⁸ Katterbach, *op. cit.*, xv

Methodology

Calendar of Scottish supplications

Four calendars of Scottish supplications have been published to date, covering the years 1418-1447.³⁹ Unfortunately, within these volumes there is no detailed explanation of editorial procedure. Annie Dunlop's unpublished manuscript calendar entries from 1447 to 1479 are held in the Department of Scottish History at Glasgow University along with microfilm of the original supplications from 1476 onwards. There are also photocopies of original supplications for the period 1479-82.

For the purposes of this study these calendar slips along with a manuscript calendar prepared by Dr Alan Macquarrie for the period from 1479 onwards have been used. A machine-readable version in preparation for publication was in existence when the research was begun but on comparison with the calendars it was evident that omissions had been made along with some inaccurate interpretations.⁴⁰ The procedure adopted has been to print out the supplications for each year from the machine-readable version and then to compare them against the calendar making the

³⁹ *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-1422*, Scottish History Society, third series, XXIII, edd E R Lindsay and A I Cameron (Edinburgh, 1934); *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-1428*, Scottish History Society, third series, XLVIII, ed A I Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1956); *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1428-1432*, Scottish History Society, fourth series, VII, edd A I Dunlop and I B Cowan (Edinburgh, 1970); *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447*, edd A I Dunlop and D MacLauchlan (Glasgow, 1983)

⁴⁰ Omissions include details of defect of birth and sections of untranslated Latin. Other omissions can be the result of accidentally missing a line in copying. Inaccurate interpretations are usually the result of abbreviations in the calendar, such as *Bishop and chap. of St Andrews* where *chap.* represents chapter and not chaplain.

necessary emendments. Any subsequent queries have required the consultation of either the original manuscripts in Rome or microfilm or photocopies in Glasgow (for supplications from 1476 onwards).

The calendar of Annie Dunlop consists of a collection of slips, measuring approximately 14.5 x 9.5 cm (3.75 x 5.75 inches) in size, which are written in pencil on a yellowy coloured paper. These slips are estimated to be around thirty-six years old,⁴¹ and the writing is often faint, making legibility a problem. The volume and folio number(s) appear at the top left corner, to the right of which is the name of the referendary. There then follows a summary of the contents of the supplication with the name of the suppliant and the name of any benefice being supplicated underlined. The result clause, place and date are given at the bottom along with an indication of length in the original register. At the extreme top left corner in the margin is written the modernised version of the date. Below this there is often a rubric declaring the supplication type as stated in the original registers.

There are a number of problems in using these slips which helps to account for much of the inaccuracy found in the machine-readable version. In addition to the faintness of the writing, abbreviations are used frequently. For example, the abbreviation *d. n. de pres. et sol* represents the Latin phrase *defectum natalium de presbytero et soluta* - 'defect of birth [as son of] a priest and an unmarried woman'. The abbreviation *Tur. Parv.* represents the Latin *Librarum Turonensium Parvorum* - 'Of little pounds

⁴¹ Annie Dunlop stopped working in the Archives three years before her death in 1973, but the microfilm orders for supplications from 1476 until August 1479 (with references based on those of her calendar) date to 1962-4.

of Tours' - a currency denomination. *M.P.* is used to denote *Motu Proprio* whilst *N.P.* can represent either *Nova Provisio* or 'Notary Public' depending on the context. Some slips contain a few untranslated phrases or sentences whilst a few others have more substantial sections of Latin remaining.⁴²

One major problem is that from about 1474 there can be two, or in some cases three slips for each supplication which can differ slightly in content. This may be simply a minor difference in translation or slight variants in spellings of personal and place names. On other occasions there may be omissions of information. For example, regarding Supp. No. 483, on one slip both the king and Walter Davidson supplicate, but on the other Walter appears as the sole suppliant. One of the most common differences, though, is that of variants in dates. For example, one slip for Supp. No. 454 gives the date as *4 Kal. Apr. an. 6* while the other slip gives *4 Id. Apr. an. 6* - which is the actual date in the original. In each of these cases it has been necessary to note the differences between the slips and to resolve any major differences by recourse to the original document.

The problem of dates extends to differences at the bottom and top of the same slip. For example, the slip for Supp. No. 308 has *7 Kal. Nov. an. 5* at the bottom (26 October 1475), but 25 November 1475 (which would be *7 Kal. Dec. an. 5*) at the top. In most cases where there is a difference, as in this example, the transcription of the original date at the bottom of the slip tends to be accurate and the error has occurred in the modernisation process. Potential problems with dates can also be

⁴² In some cases a Latin phrase is bracketed following its translation, presumably because there was some doubt as to translation.

spotted from the reference number.⁴³ Nevertheless, for the purposes of accuracy it is preferable to check the original.

A more serious problem for the purposes of checking the original supplications material is that of wrong references being given. The extent of inaccuracy is not known as all of the references have not been checked systematically against the original material - checking has only been done for the purpose of resolving queries which have arisen (whether they be of dates, references or contents).⁴⁴ In some cases it is a fairly straightforward process; for example, if there are two different references on two slips which seem to refer to the same supplication it is simply a matter of examining both sets of references to determine whether or not it is the same supplication and which is the correct reference. However, in the course of enquiries it has been found that occasional incorrect references have been written. For example, the reference for Supp. No. 1529 appears on the slip as 668,175v but in actual fact the reference should be 668,176v-177. Similarly, the slip for Supp. No. 166 has the reference 701,56 which should read 701,156-156v. At times the problem is one of the wrong volume rather than the wrong folio. There are particular problems with references from volumes 739 and 740, and 743 and 744. Checking the original registers can occasionally resolve the problem as in these cases when a minor error has been made in recording the volume or folio number. However, in a few cases it has not been possible to resolve the problem. For

⁴³ The inventory of P Bruno Katterbach provides a rough guide to the dates of supplications contained within specific volumes of the registers; see P Bruno Katterbach, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ For wrong references see also page 45 and footnote 46. For full details of the queries involved see footnotes in Appendix III.

example, the slip for Supp. No. 1460 gives as its reference 662,191 but the supplication does not appear there in the original registers - nor is the reference 662,91 or 662,19 which are the obvious possibilities. Therefore, it has been impossible to establish definitely that there are no further details given concerning John Dingwall's defect of birth, which was the purpose of the query.

Missing slips present difficulties as it cannot be ascertained whether there have been any important omissions or misreadings in the preparation of the machine-readable version and there is no way to check references and dates easily.⁴⁵ In these instances it is necessary to examine the original provided that the reference is accurate.

Macquarrie's calendar for the supplications from 1479-84 is written on A4 paper and is contained within ring binders. It has a similar format to the slips except that there is no indication of lengths of supplications. It would appear that the calendar was compiled using microfilm or photocopies ordered using references in folders containing notes previously made in the Archives themselves. These latter notes consist merely of dates, supplication rubrics, names of people and benefices and sometimes a short summary of the supplication concerned. There are a large number of discrepancies between these notes and Macquarrie's calendar, particularly concerning personal and place names. Macquarrie's calendar is by far the more accurate. Nevertheless, it has been desirable to check the original, particularly in cases of potential omission.

⁴⁵ There are eight slips missing from Dunlop's calendar 1470-9.

There are five or six instances in Macquarrie's calendar folder where there are missing entries as the 'print does not correspond' to the reference given in the other set of folders.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the machine-readable version contains text which does relate to the information provided in the other folders. Unfortunately, with these entries, as opposed to entries from missing slips which can contain the correct references, there is no means of checking the information easily, since incorrect references have resulted in the inability to order microfilm or photocopies. Due to the small number of instances, though, the information has been used, albeit with a degree of caution.

Appendix

The appendix to the thesis (Volume II) contains the calendar of Scottish supplications for the period 1470-84 which is largely the text compiled by both Dr Annie I Dunlop and Dr Alan Macquarrie. Any changes which have been made as a result of queries which have been undertaken are explained throughout in footnotes, as indeed are any queries which remain unresolved. It should be noted that the appendix is not a definitive version, at least in terms of publication, but that it has provided the data for the database on which the analysis in the thesis depends.

Despite the fact that personal and place names had been standardised in the machine-readable version for supplications until about 1476 (and at times thereafter), it has been deemed desirable to note the original versions as provided by Dunlop and

⁴⁶ For example, Supp. Nos. 858, 942

Macquarrie, and any variant readings, in both the appendix and the database.⁴⁷ The original versions have been preferred for several reasons: firstly, this procedure accords with that used by previous editors of both the supplications and papal letters, and can aid in the process of linking of the same person or benefice; secondly, the original version is preferable in the case of benefices since it is not always possible to provide definite identifications; and finally, original versions can be indicative of not only local spellings but of pronunciation.⁴⁸

The numbering of supplications in the appendix follows largely that used in the machine-readable version.⁴⁹ However, as has been specified earlier, duplicates of supplications exist (although they are not always exact copies) which were not

⁴⁷ In some instances mistakes had been made in the process of standardisation. For example, in Supp. No. 10 the vicarage of *Porstan* in the diocese of Glasgow had been standardised to Sprouston, but it is more likely that the benefice referred to is Pierston. In the case of personal names, the tendency is for first names to be Anglicised in the calendars.

⁴⁸ Although there is an argument that the spellings in the supplications are the work of Italian scribes and can at times be so corrupt as to render their faithful reproduction as inessential, the personal presence of petitioners in the *curia* and the important role played by procurators (who could be of Scottish origin) should not be overlooked nor should the various correcting procedures in the Datary and Chancery offices. For a discussion of the issue of spellings of names in relation to papal letters (in the context of enregistration from drafts), see *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, XVI (1492-1498), ed A P Fuller (Dublin, 1986), xxix. One example of the retention of Gaelic orthography can be found in a supplication dated 10 July 1443 in which the deprivation of *Donald Duncani Macanfirlegind* was sought from a benefice in Sodor diocese. *Macanfirlegend* represents 'son of the *fer legind* (or *leginn*)', i.e. son of the lector (or head of a monastic *scriptorium*); *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome*, 1433-1447, edd A I Dunlop and D MacLauchlan (Glasgow, 1983), 231, no. 935. I am grateful to Dr David Brown for providing me with this reference and for explaining its significance.

⁴⁹ It should be noted that the numbering in the appendix begins with numbers 1419-1535 and then proceeds from 1-1031. This is due to the fact that Supp. Nos. 1419-1535 were originally at the end of the machine-readable version of supplications from 1447 to August 1471.

always numbered separately in that version. For the purposes of both the appendix and the database the information in a duplicate has been treated as for an individual supplication. Rather than change the numbering completely the use of the decimal point and tenths has been adopted which makes the addition of supplications to both the appendix and the database simpler while being easier to collate with the machine-readable version. Where it is stated on a slip 'Another of the same' with a reference number and date it has been presumed that the contents of the duplicate supplication are exactly the same, unless it has been indicated to the contrary. A handful of supplications are denoted as cancelled (*Cassatum de mandato pape*) - in other words, after the request had been granted they were cancelled upon the pope's orders. These supplications have been included in the analysis also.⁵⁰

Database

The advantages of the use of computers in historical research have been expounded by numerous practitioners.⁵¹ In the field of supplications, interest in the use of computers can be seen from two articles published as part of proceedings from a

⁵⁰ See, for example, Supp. Nos. 321, 607

⁵¹ For discussions of the benefits of using computers in historical research and for examples of their application in projects, see Evan Mawdsley and Thomas Munck, *Computing for historians: an introductory guide* (Manchester and New York, 1993); Daniel I Greenstein, *A Historian's Guide to Computing*, Oxford Guides to Computing for the Humanities (Oxford, 1994); Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *Databases in Historical Research* (London, 1996); *History and Computing*, edd Peter Denley and Deian Hopkin (Manchester, 1987); *History and Computing II*, edd Peter Denley, Stefan Fogelvik and Charles Harvey (Manchester, 1989); *History and Computing III: Historians, computers and data*, edd Evan Mawdsley, Nicholas Morgan, Lesley Richmond and Richard Trainor (Manchester, 1990); articles in specialised journals, such as *History and Computing* published by Edinburgh University Press.

conference organised by l'École française de Rome and l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université de Pise in 1975.⁵² Both articles recommend the use of computers due to the quantity of information and the stereotypical nature of the source.⁵³ Verger's article focusses on the benefits that the supplications have as a source for prosopographical studies and the computer is regarded as a tool to store data and aid in its analysis.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the focus of Moyse's article, which includes a detailed scheme to structure the information, is on the creation of a database to store the details of the supplications as a source edition, presumably from which other researchers can retrieve the information they require for analysis. Thus his prime concern is on the replication of the source. The major problem according to Moyse is what procedure should be adopted with supplications which have already been published in light of the fact that different countries have adopted different policies, thus resulting in omissions from the source material.

Moyse's paper is concerned with supplications from all countries, but Verger, with regard to the limitations of the information in the supplications (for prosopographical studies), questions the worth of computerising supplications for countries in which

⁵² Gérard Moyse, 'Les Suppliques Médiévales: documents lacunaires, documents répétitifs?', in *Informatique et Histoire Médiévale: Communications et débats de la Table Ronde CNRS, organisée par l'École Française de Rome et l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université de Pise (Rome, 20-22 Mai 1975)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome XXXI, edd L Fossier, A Vauchez, C Volante (1977), 55-72; Jacques Verger, 'Que peut-on attendre d'un traitement automatique des suppliques?', in *ibid.*, 73-8

⁵³ For example, *Ainsi, grâce aux deux avantages principaux que constituent la quantité en série des informations et leur forme stéréotypée, leur traitement par des méthodes automatiques ne devrait pas poser de problèmes de principe.*; Gérard Moyse, *op. cit.*, 65

⁵⁴ *Les suppliques apparaissent surtout comme une source utile pour constituer la base d'un vaste fichier prosopographique de plusieurs dizaines de milliers d'individus.*; Jacques Verger, *op. cit.*, 74

there are fuller sources.⁵⁵ The importance of Vatican Archive material to Scottish historians has been discussed previously. In light of its importance Scottish supplications become an ideal candidate for the foundations of prosopographical studies as envisaged by Verger. However, other useful information is contained within the source which can be used for a variety of analyses.

Thus, in response to both the complexity of the source and the large quantity of useful information contained therein, it was decided to construct a database of Scottish supplications for the period 1470-84. The database has been created using the software Borland's Paradox for DOS version 4.5 and consists of over 20,000 entries divided between eleven different tables. A relational, rather than flat-file structure was necessary in order to reflect the source as accurately as possible and to accommodate the one-to-many and many-to-many relationships which occur throughout.⁵⁶ Furthermore, an important advantage of the relational structure is the

⁵⁵ *Le problème est de savoir si, étant donné les limites évidentes des suppliques, la constitution d'un tel fichier vaut la peine d'être entreprise ou si d'autres séries de documents offrent mieux; dans certains pays, c'est probable; dans d'autres, comme la France, la mise en oeuvre systématique des suppliques peut donner un instrument très solide à l'étude sociale, religieuse et politique de certaines catégories au moins de la population.; ibid., 76.* Verger provides a list of limitations which include *lacunae* in the source and that complete careers can rarely be reconstructed from the supplications: *que les suppliques permettent rarement de suivre toute la carrière d'un personnage; ibid., 76*

⁵⁶ For example, one cleric can be the holder of more than one qualification, and benefices can have more than one monetary value attached to them (value of fruits and value of pension, perhaps, or value of fruits given in two different currency denominations). Likewise one person can be associated with more than one benefice and one benefice can have a number of people associated with it. A relational database consists of several tables which are linked together through common fields whereas a flat-file database has only one table. For a comparison of the merits of flat-file and relational databases, see Daniel I Greenstein, 'Multi-sourced and Integrated Databases for the Prosopographer', in Evan Mawdsley, Nicholas Morgan, Lesley Richmond and Richard Trainor, *op. cit.*, 60-6

ease with which additional tables can be added at a later stage should this be desired.⁵⁷

Not only does a database allow for the efficient storage and retrieval of large amounts of information, but it also provides a means for statistical analysis to take place easily.⁵⁸ Thus it is possible to determine in a matter of minutes, for example, how many clergy with qualifications supplicated for benefices over a certain value. Offset against such advantages, however, are the time, cost, and effort involved in the initial construction, and critics of databases also point to the loss of source integrity and the tailoring of information to accommodate a rigid structure. One of the most common criticisms of relational databases is that they make difficult the representation of so-called 'fuzzy' data or non-specific values; for example, 'approximately twenty years old'. This problem can be overcome partly by use of notes fields in database tables into which comments on problematic data can be inserted.

In recent years there has been much debate in the field of historical computing about the comparative strengths and weaknesses of the model-oriented approach represented by relational databases and the source-oriented approach in which the

⁵⁷ For example, it would be desirable to link a conversion table for monetary values should statistical analysis be required in that domain. Tables containing information from other sources can also be added, see pages 69-70 below

⁵⁸ The statistical analysis in question is that of descriptive statistics (univariate statistics such as, frequencies, means and modes). For multivariate statistics (as used, for example, in regression analysis) it would be necessary to use a statistics software package such as SPSS. For a basic introduction to the use of statistics in historical computing, see Evan Mawdsley and Thomas Munck, *op. cit.*, 81-97

database is regarded as an edition of the source.⁵⁹ Accordingly, careful consideration of the source and potential uses of the database for the purposes of both future research as well as the present study have been necessary.

Although there are many obvious benefits in adopting a source-oriented approach, not least of which is the preservation of the source as close as possible to its original format, a relational database was preferred. Aside from software considerations, an important element was the fact that the supplications source in its calendar format is not an exact replication of the original source. Not only is the calendar a translation of the original material, it also omits repetitive formulaic Chancery phrases which appear there (which were considered unimportant for the study of Scottish history). Therefore, since the integrity of the original source had already been lost to such an extent, the desirability of the source-oriented approach was diminished.

Furthermore, construction and use of a relational database does not preclude sensitivity to the source. Rather, in some respects, it forces the creator to think more carefully about the source components and their relationships.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The debate is summed-up in Peter Denley, 'Models, Sources and Users: Historical Database Design in the 1990s', *History and Computing* 6 (1994), 33-43. Denley also discusses developments in 'user-oriented' software. For a description of the fundamentals of a source-oriented system, see Manfred Thaller, 'Methods and Techniques of Historical Computation', in Peter Denley and Deian Hopkin, *op. cit.*, 147-56. For a full discussion of the design and use of databases in historical research, see Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *op. cit.*, *passim*

⁶⁰ A similar point is made in Evan Mawdsley and Thomas Munck, *op. cit.*, 79. Furthermore, 'it could be argued that the process of editing data into a database structure is likely to make the historian more conscious of the strengths and weaknesses of his/her source material.'; *ibid.*, 165

The following discussion on the structure of the database and on the content of its tables will show that an attempt has been made to respect the original source material. Hence personal and benefice names have retained their original spellings and coding has been kept to a minimum - although this does not mean that further coding cannot be added at a later stage. Nevertheless, the database was designed with analysis firmly in mind and its structure is one which should help maximise the potential which the source has to answer questions on Scottish clergy and benefices during the pontificate of Sixtus IV.

Structure

In its infancy and during data entry the database consisted of ten tables - Suppdes, Descrip, People, Perdesc, Qualif, Benefic, Benval, Relatio, Prelat, and Persupp. To these, following data entry, has been added the Peolink table. *Table 3*, which displays the database structure with a list of tables and their constituent fields, shows that the tables can be linked together through use of the supplication number field. This field uses the supplication numbers as given in the appendix (following mainly numbers used in the machine-readable version of the supplications). It was easier to use these numbers rather than the actual reference numbers throughout as this helps to minimize errors. Further links of certain tables can be achieved by means of the person id and benefice id fields. Each person and benefice mentioned in each supplication has been given a unique id number. However, multiple occurrences of the same people and same benefices do occur, hence the need for new person and new benefice id fields which are used to link these people and benefices. The

Table 3 - Outline of Database Structure

<i>TABLE</i>	<i>FIELDS</i>
SUPPDES	supplication number, date, type, reference number, result, litigation
DESCRIP	supplication number, notes
PEOPLE	supplication number, person id, new person id, surname, first name, other name, title, notes
PERDESC	supplication number, person id, description, notes
QUALIF	supplication number, person id, qualification, notes
BENEFIC	supplication number, benefice id, new benefice id, benefice type, dedication, institution, place, religious order, diocese, patronage, notes
BENVAL	supplication number, benefice id, benefice value, pension value, currency description, notes
RELATIO	supplication number, person id, benefice id, relationship, notes
PRELAT	supplication number, person 1 id, person 2 id, relationship, notes
PERSUPP	supplication number, person id, notes
PEOLINK	supplication number, person id, new person id, link id, notes

peolink table takes the linkage process a step further - this will be explained later in the Record Linkage section.

Content of tables⁶¹

Suppdes

The Suppdes (Supplication Description) table contains the basic reference information for each supplication. The fields can be described as follows: supplication number as given in the appendix; date of supplication given in its modernised form; supplication type - that is the rubric at the top of the supplication; the reference number consisting of register volume plus folios; result clause at the end of the supplications; and finally the litigation field indicates whether or not there is any litigation involved. In the case of supplications in which litigation is mentioned, a code R for resolved cases and U for unresolved cases has been entered. It should be noted that this field serves as a rough guide to litigation since details of litigation mentioned in supplications are not always sufficient to determine the situation conclusively. A cautious approach has been adopted and therefore unresolved cases include, for example, situations in which a litigant has died and the other litigant supplicates to be surrogated to the former's right and provided to the benefice concerned (usually the *cessio* type of supplication) since it remains far from certain that the litigation will definitely end as a result of the successful supplication.⁶²

⁶¹ For examples of contents of the tables, see Appendix I, pages 238-40 below

⁶² See section on Litigation below, pages 183-95

People

The People table contains the names of individual people mentioned in the supplications. Each person has been given a unique person id number and provision has been made in the structure to allow for surnames, first names, other names and titles to be entered. Surnames preceded by *De* have been entered in this form in the surname field. The title field has been used mostly for members of the nobility or royalty, but also at times for the prefix *Dom[inus]* (usually in the case of auditors of the Rota) and occasionally for *Mag[ister]* (Master). The structure also allows multiple entries for the same person, permitting the inclusion of variant readings (including modernised versions if desired). Sometimes, for example, the calendar gives two or three variants for a name if there has been some difficulty with transcription. Individuals who are denoted in the supplications by virtue of their office and whose personal names are not given - for example, abbot of Arbroath or bishop of Dunkeld - have been given entries in the People table consisting merely of supplication number, person id and new person id. It is thus possible, if desired, to add the names at a later stage using information from other sources. The new person id field caters for the linkage of people who occur more than once, with links made on the basis of benefice-holding or connections with benefices.⁶³ The notes field, which is a feature of the majority of tables in the database, allows additional information - either from the source or concerning the source to be entered; for example, if Annie Dunlop had noted in her calendar that a name was particularly

⁶³ For a fuller explanation of record linkage procedure see section on Record Linkage below, pages 62-9

difficult to read due to the manuscript being damaged in some way, then this information has been entered in the notes field alongside her reading of the name.

Perdesc

The Perdesc (Person Description) table contains details of descriptions of people, such as details of defect of birth, residence at the papal curia, and dispensations already granted. It consists of the fields supplication number, person id (allowing it to be linked to the people table), description, and notes.

Qualif

The Qualif (Qualifications) table contains information of academic qualifications possessed by individuals. Its fields are supplication number, person id, qualification, and notes. As with the Perdesc table it can be linked to the People table by means of the person id field. Qualifications take the form of abbreviations, such as *MA*, and *B.Dec*, as in the calendar. The notes field has been used occasionally to record information concerning place of study.

Benefic

The Benefic (Benefice) table contains information relating to benefices mentioned. It contains the following fields: supplication number, benefice id, new benefice id, benefice type, dedication, institution, place, religious order, diocese, patronage, and

notes. As in the people table the structure allows for variant readings to be recorded. Furthermore, two id numbers are given for each entry. The benefice id number is the unique number given to each benefice mentioned in the supplications whilst the new benefice id number allows multiple occurrences of the same benefice to be linked. Record linkage for benefices is less of a problem than for people. However, the identification of certain benefices as given in the source is not always conclusive.

Examples of benefice type include vicarage, perpetual vicarage, chaplaincy, abbacy and rectory. The dedication field is for any dedication to saints connected with the benefice; for example, a chaplaincy dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. The institution field contains details of any institution that the benefice may be a part of; for example, the benefice may be a canonry and prebend of a collegiate church. The place field usually contains names of parishes. The religious order field is mainly used in the case of monasteries and other religious houses and entries are abbreviated following procedure in the calendar (for example, *OSB* for Order of St Benedict). The diocese field is self-explanatory. Any details concerning patronage which are given in the source are recorded in the patronage field.

Benval

The Benval (Benefice Value) table provides information relating to values of the fruits of benefices and pensions associated with benefices. The benefice id field provides linkage to the benefice table, the benefice value and pension value fields provide the numeral of the value, and the currency description field contains the

currency type. The most common currency types are pounds sterling and pounds Scots, but ducats gold of Camera and pounds *Turonensium parvorum* also occur. Often two values are given - one in pounds sterling or Scots and the other in ducats gold of Camera - which can provide useful information for exchange rates in the period. The notes field is most often used to provide further information concerning pensions; for example, who was receiving or to receive the pension, from whom the pension was sought, and what the pension value represented in relation to the value of the benefice fruits.

Relatio

The Relatio (Relationship) table displays the relationship of people to benefices. The person and benefice ids are given together with a relationship code, such as S to indicate supplicating provision to and LIT for a person involved in litigation over a benefice. *Table 4* below details the codes which have been used. With the exception of the Peolink table, this is the table in the construction of which most interpretation has occurred and, due to the use of coding, the one most likely to be subject to the criticism of neglecting a source-oriented approach. This table has been the most difficult to construct, however, due to the ambiguities of the source. Codes such as S, P and LP are not particularly problematic, but codes such as R and D can be. For example, although R denotes that the person has resigned a benefice, this does not automatically mean that the person had possession of that benefice before the resignation took place - it may mean that the person had resigned his right to the benefice. Similarly D denotes someone who had been connected with the benefice,

whether by possession or alleged right, and was deceased at the time of the supplication. These ambiguities, although replicated in the database, are inherent in the original source material.

As with other tables, in the Relatio table the notes field has again been used to record information that cannot easily be fitted into the rigid structure. In particular, the notes field has been used to record further information concerning provisions to benefices and chronology of events. For example, if someone describes himself as the holder of a benefice and that he was provided after the death or resignation of someone else, then these latter details will appear in the notes field with the code H in the relationship field. Similarly, if a cleric had accepted a benefice by virtue of an expectative grace, this information has been included in the notes field.

Table 4 - Relationship codes in the Relatio table

<i>Code</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
S	Supplicating provision to
SP	Supplicating for a pension on the fruits of the benefice
SHV	Supplicating for a hoped for vacancy (due to the promotion or assecution to another benefice by the current holder)
V	Supplicating for the verification of a provision previously granted (by pope or by the ordinary)
H	Holder of the benefice
P	Person receiving a pension from the fruits of the benefice
A	Appointed - used for supplications in which it appears that an appointment is being made (usually supplications taking the form of <i>motu proprio</i>)
RP	Resigned benefice or right in benefice into the hands of the pope
RO	Resigned benefice or right in benefice into the hands of the ordinary
R	Resigned benefice or right in benefice
D	Deceased possessor of benefice or of right in benefice
LIT	Litigant either present or past
LP	Lay patron

Prelat

The Prelat (Person Relationship) table is similar in structure to the Relatio table.

The supplication number is followed by a person 1 id number, a person 2 id number, a relationship description, and any notes. In this table the relationships have not been coded, but appear as textual descriptions of the relationship that the first person had with the second. Examples of relationship types are pensioner, continual familiar commensal, chaplain, orator to the pope, nephew, and kinsman.

Persupp

The Persupp (or Person Supplicating) table records who the supplicant was or supplicants were. It has a simple structure of supplication number, person id and notes. Sometimes a supplicant was supplicating on behalf of someone else. This information is contained in the notes field. For supplications of the *motu proprio* form, the supplicant has been regarded as the recipient of the grace.

Descrip

The Descrip (Description) table contains information which cannot be slotted into the rigid structure of the other tables but which is, or may be, important. Examples include: details of litigation cases as given in the source, providing information, for example, as to who was involved in the case, whether the case was first, second or third instance, who the auditor was, and if there were any surrogations of rights;

details of dispensations sought, such as a suppliant seeking to hold two incompatible benefices;⁶⁴ reasons given by a cleric who is seeking the deprivation of another cleric from a particular benefice (to which often he himself seeks provision); and reasons why a union of benefices is sought. In some cases a brief summary of the supplication has been inserted - this is the case particularly for lengthier supplications.

Peolink

The final table to be considered is the Peolink (People Link) table which was constructed post data entry. It is an entirely interpretative table and does not contain any text from the supplications. Its fields are supplication number, person id, new person id, link id, and notes. The person id and new person id fields are duplicates of those in the People table whilst the link id number represents a further stage in the linkage process with links being made on the basis of additional information such as familiars of the pope or of cardinals, qualifications, and social origins. The notes field is used to provide references to external sources which have made possible the link in question.

⁶⁴ Dispensations which have been already granted at the time of the supplication are recorded in the Perdesc table whilst dispensations being sought in the supplication are recorded in the Descrip table. An alternative structure for the database might contain a table specifically for dispensations with coding to show whether or not the dispensation had been granted or was currently being sought.

Record linkage

The same people and benefices can occur several times throughout the supplications in the period. For the purposes of analysis - whether it be frequency counts or (limited) career reconstruction - it is essential to be able to link these occurrences together. Hence new person and new benefice id fields have been incorporated into the people and benefice tables. In the case of benefices the linkage process is on the whole fairly straightforward, at least where specific place names are used.

Difficulties in identification can occur, though, due to variants in spellings and incomplete information; for example, a cleric may be described as the holder of an unnamed canonry and prebend. At times it is possible to suggest the identification of such benefices once information about clergy connected with these benefices has been aggregated.

Record linkage of people is more problematic. People can be linked according to details of benefices they are associated with and their personal descriptions including qualifications. However, the level of information for any one person can vary according to whether he appears as a suppliant or is mentioned by a suppliant. In seeking provision to benefices, suppliants who were of noble birth and possessed qualifications would often mention these as this would be to their advantage. If, on the other hand, a suppliant was seeking the deprivation of a cleric from a benefice, he would be unlikely to list favourable attributes of the latter. The information concerning clerics who are described as deceased holders of benefices usually extends to no more than their personal names.

Consistency of information is also a problem. The prime example is that of variations in the spelling of personal names. For example, the surname of Dennis Auchinleck appears variously as *Athiulk*, *Auchinlek*, *Achinlek*, *Athinlek*, *Aflic*, *Ahlic*, *Achlak*, *Alec*, and *Achlek*.⁶⁵ Furthermore, from links which have been established it is clear that supplicants do not always mention their qualifications. For example, Andrew Young, a familiar of the pope and of several cardinals, is not consistent in this respect.⁶⁶ Similarly there can be variability concerning the descriptions clerk and priest and the dioceses of origin information. For example, Robert Blackadder (consecrated as bishop of Glasgow in April 1483) is mainly described as 'clerk of St Andrews diocese' but he appears once as 'priest of St Andrews diocese' and once as 'clerk of Glasgow diocese'.⁶⁷

For these reasons it is hard to envisage the application of an automated, or even semi-automated system of record linkage being applied to this source. Such systems are usually applied in order to link records from different sources with links being made on the basis of information contained within specific fields which the sources have in common. The technique is usually applied to modern or early-modern sources such as poll books, rate books, censuses, and parish registers. The general procedure is for links to be made using a series of algorithms. In the case of people, the first link is usually established using personal names, beginning with surnames. Then the procedure is to work systematically through a specific set of criteria (for

⁶⁵ Supp. Nos. 23.1, 702, 692, 692.1, 703, 779, 840, 1022. Since surnames have not been standardised in the database it has been necessary to take care to ascertain all of the possible variants during the linkage procedure.

⁶⁶ Compare, for example, Supp. Nos. 682 and 710

⁶⁷ Supp. Nos. 651, 693

example, addresses or occupations). Often systems incorporate levels of confidence, in other words assigning a score which indicates the strength of probability of the link.⁶⁸

The use of the level of confidence device highlights the impossibility of being able to make perfect links. Errors can occur in both directions: erroneous links can be made and data which should be linked can remain unlinked.⁶⁹ It is recognised in the field of historical computing that 'historians whose research depends crucially upon the application of record linkage procedures should think in terms of *relative* not *absolute* confidence.'⁷⁰ Furthermore, there is debate about the extent to which computers should be left to create the links independently of historical judgement.⁷¹

⁶⁸ For a description of such a system adopted for linking poll book data, see C Harvey and E Green, 'Record Linkage Algorithms: Efficiency, Selection and Relative Confidence', *History and Computing* 6.3 (1994), 143-52. See also the section on record linkage in Charles Harvey and Jon Press, *op. cit.*, 234-52

⁶⁹ For an explanation of and a diagram showing the types of linkage error, see P Adman, S W Baskerville, and K F Beedham, 'Computer-Assisted Record Linkage: or How Best to Optimize Links Without Generating Errors', *History and Computing*, 4.1 (1992), 7

⁷⁰ C Harvey and E Green, *op. cit.*, 151

⁷¹ For example, Mawdsley and Munck stress the importance of manual examination of links which the computer suggests whilst Adman, Baskerville and Beedham state that '... true links will be defined operationally as those which, *in the informed judgment of the investigator*, most convincingly delineate the known characteristics of a single historical individual. Given the nature of the evidence involved, the establishment of such links cannot in most cases be achieved by means of a systematic procedure, irrespective of whether this is implemented manually or by means of an automated computer algorithm.'; Evan Mawdsley and Thomas Munck, *op. cit.*, 160-1; P Adman, S W Baskerville, and K F Beedham, *op. cit.*, 6. On the other hand Schürer, Oeppen and Schofield in regard to recreating individual life courses believe that 'if the historian's judgment has any claim to intellectual respectability, the principles on which it is based must be capable of being specified in algorithmic form and so be executable automatically by the computer without further human intervention. Moreover, an automatic resolution of indeterminate networks of linked records would have the additional advantage of avoiding the unconscious biases and inconsistencies that can easily creep in when judgments are made for a long series of individual cases over an extended period of time.'; K

Regardless of whether an automated, semi-automated or manual procedure is adopted, it is essential to determine the criteria by which links should be established. According to Morris,

- 'The best practice is to avoid using in linkage information which relates to the behaviour and characteristics that are the object of the study concerned. Thus the political historian does not use voting behaviour and the historian of work and occupations should not use occupation as a means of linking.'⁷²

This is not a trivial point and it poses a dilemma for nominal record linkage in the supplications given the variations in both the level and consistency of information. Since the bulk of the information in the supplications concerns clerics' connections with benefices, the source serves as an important base for partial career reconstruction. Therefore, likely subjects for research are benefice-holding and possibly mobility of clergy. With reference to Morris' comment above, it follows logically that any record linkage should avoid linking on the basis of connections with benefices. However, this would leave very little information on which to make links. The inconsistency of personal information such as use of the terms 'clerk' and 'priest' has already been mentioned, as has the omission of qualifications information. As noted previously too, the person's role within the supplication also has a bearing on the type of information given. A further problem is that of

Schürer, J Oeppen, and R Schofield, 'Theory and Methodology: an Example from Historical Demography', in *History and Computing II*, edd Peter Denley, Stefan Fogelvik and Charles Harvey (Manchester, 1989), 138

⁷² R J Morris, 'Nominal Record Linkage: into the 1990s', *History and Computing*, 4.1 (1992), iv

imprecision in the supplications: it is frequently impossible to date precisely when events took place. However, a chronological sequence of events can often be reconstructed.

Nevertheless, in spite of the problems with linking people on the basis of connections with benefices, the first set of person id links - creating the new person id numbers - has adopted this procedure due to the greater quantity of information and also since this would establish a greater number of links.⁷³ Had this information been ignored completely in the linkage process the statistical results generated would have been highly flawed. Linkage according to other criteria - familiars of the pope, familiars of cardinals, acolytes of the pope, qualifications, connections with the king and social origins - were left to a later stage resulting in the creation of link id numbers which serve to refine the links already made.⁷⁴ During both phases of the linkage process, the computer was used solely as a tool to retrieve the data under consideration. The links were then made on the basis of historical judgement.

In the process of establishing the second set of links no obvious errors have been discovered pertaining to the first set of links. However, it is highly likely that at

⁷³ In practice this means, for example, that a cleric who is described as the holder of a benefice in one supplication is regarded as the same person as someone of the same name who is also described as the holder of the same benefice in another supplication. One important consideration is that someone can be a litigant over a benefice, then resign (his right to) the benefice, and later supplicate to be provided to it. Therefore it should not automatically be presumed that someone who supplicates to be provided to a benefice at a later date than someone of the same name who has resigned that benefice is in fact a different person.

⁷⁴ The procedure is to produce a list of names of people who satisfy a particular criterion (those who are described as familiars of the pope, for example, or who possess qualifications). Then all of the data for *all* people of these names are examined in order to determine links.

both levels links, which should have been made, have not been established. It is unclear, though, the extent of the margin of error. Likewise, it is possible that erroneous links have been made since two people of the same name could have held a benefice successively, for example, or two people of the same name could have possessed the same qualification.⁷⁵ That different people of the same name exist in the supplications is clear from the following example. It is known that there are at least two distinct clerics named William Marshall in the supplications - one was a clerk from the diocese of Glasgow who was a familiar of the pope and the other was a priest from the diocese of Glasgow.⁷⁶ The linkage procedures which were adopted did make clear this distinction which was able to be confirmed from evidence from a papal letter which refers to the first William Marshall acting as a procurator for the second.⁷⁷

The majority of links which have been made have used solely the evidence within the supplications. For some links, however, recourse has been made to other sources to aid in the linkage process. The main external sources used have been D E R Watt's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638* and Dowden's *Bishops of Scotland*.⁷⁸ Watt's work provides lists of bishops, cathedral dignitaries, heads of

⁷⁵ It is anticipated that the narrowness of the time period studied makes this less of a problem than would be the case for a lengthier time span.

⁷⁶ For William Marshall, the priest, see Supp. Nos. 6, 43, 113. For details of the career of William Marshall, papal and cardinal familiar, see pages 73, 77, 78-9, 96-7, 106, 117 below. There appears to be a third William Marshall who is described as the deceased vicar of Lindean, Glasgow diocese; Supp. No. 1510

⁷⁷ CPR, XIII, 346-7. It should be noted, though, that there was no overlap of benefice or familiars or qualifications information regarding these two clerics named William Marshall. They did share a Glasgow diocese origin, however.

⁷⁸ D E R Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, Scottish Record Society, New Series I (Edinburgh, 1969); John Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912). Other useful books have been: John Durkan and James

collegiate churches and heads of university colleges while Dowden provides his readers with brief biographical and career information regarding Scottish bishops.

An attempt has been made by Watt to link, in the index, contemporaries of the same name but he admits that 'some of the present identifications depend on probability rather than certainty.'⁷⁹ Therefore where external works have been used to link people in the database, care has been taken to record the source on which the link has been based.

Use of such works which concern the holders of bishoprics and of cathedral dignities obviously skew the linkage in favour of more prominent clerics.⁸⁰ Possibly the collation of supplications with other Vatican Archive material would redress the balance and the benefits of such an approach can be seen in the case study of Alexander Rait (although he can be regarded as a high status individual).⁸¹ The task would be very time-consuming, however, and for this reason a limited number of external sources has been used.

For the purposes of producing statistics the two sets of links allow two statistics to be given for aggregate data.⁸² The first statistic - the minimal value - is based on the first set of links and the second statistic - the maximal value - is based on the second

Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977); Leslie J Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514*, quincentenary edition (Aberdeen, 1995)

⁷⁹ D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 386

⁸⁰ Morris makes the point that high status individuals are more likely to be linked than others; R J Morris, *op. cit.*, iv

⁸¹ See pages 83-94 below

⁸² For specific groups such as familiars of the pope or those with qualifications, the link id numbers have been used to produce statistics.

set of links. It is anticipated that the the two sets of links may provide a range into which the 'true' value of the statistic falls; although it must be stressed again that the margin of error is unknown.

Adding information from other sources

For the most part, the database contains information found within the source and any interpretations such as relationship codes and record linkage have been based on that. At times, as has been discussed above, recourse has been made to other sources to aid in the linkage process. Any use of external sources has been noted in the database in the notes fields. Occasionally information has been added to other fields but care has been taken to indicate that this was not contained within the original source. For example, with regard to the Benefic table, sometimes details of patronage are given in the source. However, for the most part they are not. In the earlier stages of data entry details of patronage were added to the records on consultation of *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, a reference work by Ian Cowan containing information about parishes, patronage and appropriation.⁸³ This relevant additional information was enclosed within square brackets to indicate that this was extraneous to the original source and explanatory notes were inserted in the notes field.⁸⁴ Due to constraints of time the exercise was discontinued. Nevertheless, the existing structure of the database allows for such additions to be made at a later stage if desirable. Furthermore, the structure also allows for the creation of new tables,

⁸³ I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967)

⁸⁴ See example in Appendix I, page 239 below

perhaps compiled from other sources, which can be linked to the existing structure either through person or benefice id numbers.

Chapter II - Clergy

Scots were to be found in the Roman *curia* for a variety of reasons. Personal visits to the *curia* were made not only for the purpose of supplicating the pope for some benevolent grace or dispensation, but also to participate in litigation - whether it be as a litigant, witness or procurator. Evidence can be found also of those who were despatched to the pope for diplomatic purposes, whether by the king or a member of the nobility.¹ However, in addition to these temporary inhabitants of the Holy See there existed a distinct group of permanent, or quasi-permanent residents associated with the *curia*. A group of papal familiars and of familiars of cardinals can be identified who appear to have resided in Rome (and presumably also in the, at times, peripatetic households of the pope and cardinals). These men enjoyed specific privileges by virtue of their acquired status, and could gain advancement due to the influence of their respective patrons. Furthermore, certain individuals gained employment as papal officials, in offices such as that of collector. Honorific positions - for example, acolyte of the Pope - could also be attained.

Familiars of the pope

The word 'familiar' signifies a reciprocal arrangement. In legal terms it denotes a person who is submissive to the authority of another and who is maintained at his expense.² Familiars of the pope have been identified as being all the members of his

¹ See pages 118-28 below

² Par *famulier*, ou membre de la famille, il faut entendre en langage juridique quiconque est soumis au pouvoir dominatif de quelqu'un et entretenu à ses frais.; J

house to whom responsibility fell for attending the pope in private matters.³ In the thirteenth century there were about 250 persons (including familiars and poor retainers) who were maintained by the pope. Each familiar was assigned *de iure* to a particular area of responsibility - the kitchen, bread-store, cellar or stables.⁴ By 1555 there were 421 familiars with their 313 servants.⁵

The total number of papal familiars during the pontificate of Sixtus IV cannot be readily ascertained. However, a supplication dated 1 January 1472 (the first year of the pontificate), provides a list of *nomina vestro dilectorum et familiarium*.⁶ Each of these *devoti vestri nepotes et dilecti ac familiares continui commensales* mentioned is supplicating to receive a provision to two canonries with expectation of prebends plus one or two ecclesiastical benefices. The list, extending to 3½ folios, contains 396 names, of which the following four had been identified by Annie Dunlop as Scottish: Alexander Rait; Laurence *de Scottis*; Bartholomew *de Scottis*; and William *de Haya*. Only the first of these, though, can confidently be regarded as Scottish.⁷ It should be noted that where place of origin is concerned there is some

Deshusses, 'Familiers des évêques', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, V, ed R Naz (Paris, 1953), col 809

³ *Les familiers du pape sont donc tous les membres de sa Maison, c-à-d. tous ceux à qui il appartient de l'entourer dans le cadre de sa vie civile.*; J Deshusses, 'Familiers du Pape', *ibid.*, col 810

⁴ *un document du XIII^e s. énumère les divers familiers avec les prestations auxquelles chacun a droit, soit de la cuisine, soit de la paneterie, soit de la bouteillerie, soit encore de l'écurie des chevaux: en comptant les pauvres régulièrement entretenus, il y avait dès lors quelque deux cent cinquante personnes à nourrir.*; *ibid.*

⁵ *Sous Paul IV, en 1555, on comptait 421 familiers avec leurs 313 serviteurs, soit en tout 734 personnes à la charge du pape, sans parler des 247 chevaux.*; *ibid.*

⁶ *Reg. Supp. 670,2v-4v (Supp. No. 22)*

⁷ The original forms are *Alexander Ratte*; *Laurentius de Scottis*; *Bartholomeus de Scottis*; and *Guillelmus de haya*. In the machine readable version the second and third of these names were standardised as Laurence Scot and

dubiety as, for the majority of the names, no additional information is given; for example, diocese of origin. Thus the nationality of people such as *Adam Nicolai* and *Johannes Jacobi* is debatable. Some of the names, however, do take the format of Christian name with or without another name, followed by a place name. Thus familiars can be found from places such as Viterbo, Milan and Florence in Italy; Toledo and Cordoba in Spain; and Basle in Switzerland.⁸

This supplication does not provide an exhaustive representation of all of the familiars of Pope Sixtus IV, which is to be expected considering that it is from an early period of the pontificate. From Scottish evidence (1470-84) in the *Registra Supplicationum* alone, a further four papal familiars can be added together with the name of a deceased papal familiar (the death of whom predated Sixtus' pontificate). These were Robert Fairweather, William Marshall, Andrew Young (or Forfar), and Patrick Young.⁹ The deceased familiar was Andrew Winter.¹⁰ Another thirteen

Bartholomew Scot respectively. However, although *de Scottis* could refer to the place of origin of Laurence and Bartholomew, i.e. 'from the Scots', this is not likely given that *de Scottis* was an Italian family name. I am grateful to Dr John Durkan for assistance with this point. The nationality of *Guillelmus de haya* is likewise a problem, particularly as a *Petrus de la haye* appears later in the list. Although a William Hay appears in the records of the Arts Faculty of St Andrews in the 1420s and another William Hay in the late 1460s it remains far from certain whether either of them can be identified with the person named in this manuscript. See *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588*, 2 vols, Scottish History Society, third series, LV, ed A I Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1964), I, 20, 22, 23 and II, 159, 164. Since none of the problematic names appears again among the Scottish supplications for the pontificate all three have been omitted accordingly from subsequent analysis. For supplications in which Alexander Rait is described as a papal familiar, see Supp. Nos. 1437, 1466, 22, 32, 162, 166, 174, 215, 216, 217, 258, 263, 265, 294, 294.1, 665, 689, 694, 696, 702, 707, 714, 757, 779, 840, 1022

⁸ Amongst the names can be found *Marcellus de Viterbio*, *Jason de pagnanis de Mediolano*, *Antonius de Florentia*, *Franciscus de Toletto*, *Alfonsus de Corduba*, and *Bernardus Petrus de Basilen*.

⁹ For supplications in which they are described as being papal familiars see Supp. Nos.: 218 (Robert Fairweather); 287 (William Marshall); 391, 403, 665,

Scots are known to have been granted graces specifically mentioning the awarding to them of privileges due to papal familiars in the assecution of benefices. These were Robert Blackadder, James Douglas, John *Cabbyris* (or *Caveris*), Robert Graham, John Abernethy, Robert Keith, John Edwardson, William Mowat, John Goldsmith, Henry Boyce, Giles Boyce, Patrick Sandiland and Alexander Tours.¹¹

Consequently a distinction should be made between those clerics who appear to have resided at the *curia* and performed the role of familiar *de facto* as well as *de iure*, and those to whom privileges of papal familiars were granted solely *de iure*. The assigning of clerics to the former category is dependent on references to presence in and death within the Roman court; for example, references to their acting as procurators on behalf of other members of the clergy or laity can be used as evidence. To the latter category it is necessary to assign those who have been granted the right to enjoy privileges of familiars or to call themselves familiars, but who seem to have resided outwith the Roman Court.

666, 682, 770, 771, 772, 833, 836, 844, 861, 928 (Andrew Young); 707 (Patrick Young). For Andrew Young *alias* Forfar, see Supp. Nos. 49, 54, 770, 771, 772

¹⁰ Andrew Winter only appears once in the supplications 1470-1484 (Supp. No. 1514) by which time he is already dead, but he is described as having been a continual commensal familiar of the Pope. His death, though, precedes the accession of Sixtus IV to the papal throne and so he appears to have been a familiar of the previous pope, Paul II.

¹¹ Assecution is a legal term meaning 'the fact of attaining to an office'; *A Dictionary of the older Scottish tongue from the twelfth century to the end of the seventeenth*, I (A-C), ed William A Craigie (London, 1937), 119. For supplications mentioning the granting of privileges due to papal familiars see Supp. Nos.: 1427 (Robert Blackadder); 1429 (James Douglas); 1432 (John *Cabbyris/Caveris*); 1434 (Robert Graham); 1509 (John Abernethy and Robert Keith); 24 (John Edwardson); 454, 715, 716 (William Mowat); 503, 643 (John Goldsmith); 121 (Henry Boyce, Giles Boyce, and Patrick Sandiland); 684, 684.1 (Giles Boyce); 674 (Alexander Tours)

Nevertheless there remains a basic problem of terminology in making such distinctions. Is a 'familiar of the pope' to be understood to be identical with a 'continual commensal familiar of the pope' or indeed as a 'continual member of the household of the pope'? Are such terms interchangeable? There appears to be a distinction between being a 'member of the pope's household' and being a 'continual commensal of the pope'. For example, in a number of papal letters Alexander Rait is described as being the latter in addition to being the former.¹² However, he is also described in this source as a 'continual commensal member of the pope's household'.¹³ This would suggest that members of the pope's household were graded in some way to determine matters of prestige and privilege, and that continual commensal members were expected to be resident in the pope's household. This is confirmed by evidence from a papal letter regarding Alexander Rait:

- 'To Alexander Rate, archdeacon of Aberdeen, an acolyte and member of the household of the pope. Grant to him (who is also a continual commensal of the pope, and has to go to divers parts of the world on his own business, and is of noble birth) that whenever he absents himself from the pope's court, even on his own business, he shall not be deemed to have ceased to be a member of the pope's household, but that even as long as he is absent he shall remain a continual commensal member thereof, and shall, as regards the obtaining of any benefices granted to him by the pope under letters expectative, continue to enjoy all the

¹² See, for example, *CPR*, XIII, 16, 33, 38, 40-1 etc

¹³ *ibid.*, 103

rights of precedence etc., which are enjoyed by the other continual commensal members of the pope's household . . .'¹⁴

Barbara McClung Hallman in her work on cardinals in the sixteenth century discusses briefly the evolution of the office of familiar. Originally the *familiares continui commensales* of cardinals 'had to live in the patron's house and eat at his table in order to qualify as a true familiar, and these generally held the more important posts in the retinue of servants . . .' However, by the sixteenth century residence in the particular household was no longer essential for the maintenance of status. A similar evolutionary process occurred with papal familiars.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the above excerpt from the papal letter does indicate that a degree of formality had to be preserved and that documentation needed to be acquired to allow for the maintenance of privileges during periods of non-residence.

The benefits of being a papal familiar were largely material and financial.¹⁶ The supplications which mention the recipient being granted privileges of familiars concern expectative graces - future provision to benefices which were not yet vacant (often one or two canonries with expectation of prebends).¹⁷ For example, on 11

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 220-1

¹⁵ Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property* (Berkeley, 1985), 100. Furthermore, she relates that the status of familiar was awarded to all officers of the *curia* from at least the pontificate of Eugenius IV (1431-47); a privilege which was to be confirmed during subsequent pontificates.

¹⁶ In addition to the privileges discussed below, see *ibid.*, 110 for a list of privileges of familiars which by the eighteenth century were regarded as canon law. For example, papal and cardinal familiars were permitted to hold incompatible benefices and were not obliged to be resident. Papal familiars received the faculty to make wills and also to exchange or transfer benefices. It is unclear, though, when each of these privileges were established.

¹⁷ Expectative graces were 'papal grants bestowing prospective provision to

May 1473 in addition to extending a dispensation granted to Henry Boyce by Pope Paul II, Sixtus made a provision to Boyce to 'one or two ecclesiastical benefices, even if canonries etc, granting him in assecution of said benefices, all and sundry the prerogatives and favours etc enjoyed by papal familiars and continual commensals inscribed in the first *rotulus* or bull or in the apostolic chancery, in assecution of benefices by virtue of an Expectative Grace, in all respects as if Henry were one of their number'.¹⁸ This grace was to be dated *Kal. Jan. an. 1*: 1 January 1472.

Being a familiar could prove advantageous not only because of the privileges for gaining possession of benefices, but also due to the financial exemptions from the payment of Chancery fees. Thus on 23 April 1472 William Marshall received his papal bull *Gratis de mandato sanctissimi domini nostre pape*.¹⁹ Fees expendable at the time of promotion to holy orders could also be waived for papal familiars amongst others: *Gratis pro familiari plumbatoris, pro uno coquo coquine communis S. D. n., pro nepote episcopi Feltrensis, pro fratre clerici camere, pro familiari pape, pro familiari cardinalis u. s. w. de consensu sociorum camere*.²⁰

certain ecclesiastical benefices in the event of vacancy', *The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488*, ed A I Cameron (Oxford, 1934), lxix. Their implementation resulted in the overriding of the rights of lawful patrons and could often encourage litigation to ensue. See *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome 1423-1428*, Scottish History Society, third series, XLVIII, ed Annie I Dunlop, xii. See also Barbara McClung Hallman, *op. cit.*, 43-4. See page 169 below

¹⁸ Supp. No. 121

¹⁹ CPR, XIII, 236 where name appears as William Marschal. See also, A I Cameron, *op. cit.*, lxxxvi. Here in the section of the introduction concerning the *Libri Annatarum* Cameron cites an example of an apostolic protonotary receiving bulls without payment and states: 'Here, as in consistorial provisions, prothonotaries of the apostolic see enjoyed special immunities from taxation; and the same privilege was likewise granted to familiars of the Pope. Thus on two occasions Alexander de Rate received bulls "*gratis pro familiari*" (148, 153).'

²⁰ Ludwig Schmitz, 'Die Libri Formatarum der Camera Apostolica', *Romische Quartalschrift* (1894), 451-72, 470

Financial gain in the form of a share of the five little services (payable along with common services for a consistorial provision) was also a benefit. These five little services were to be distributed respectively to: the chamberlain and officials of the Camera; officials of the Chancery; commensal chaplains of the pope, chamberlains and squires of honour; "the humblest servants of the apostolic palace"; and familiars of cardinals.²¹

Scottish Familiars of the pope

The significance of Scottish familiars as a group of supplicants in the period 1470-84 becomes apparent on examination of several statistics. There were forty-two supplications made either by, or on behalf of the five identifiably Scottish familiars of the Pope. When the forty-one supplications made by, or on behalf of the twelve familiars of cardinals are added,²² the figure rises to 83. Thus approximately 7% of the total number of supplications in the period were made by clerics with distinct connections with the *curia*.

Leaving aside cardinal familiars at present, a few interesting differences can be noted with regard to the other two subsets of the familiars group. The available information reveals that familiars of the pope originated from the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow: Alexander Rait and Robert Fairweather from St Andrews; and William Marshall and Andrew Young from Glasgow.²³ Only two had

²¹ Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, liii-liv

²² For familiars of cardinals, see pages 96-110 below

²³ Supp. Nos. 1466, 162, 174, 199, 217, 263, 294, 294.1, 757 (Alexander Rait); 218 (Robert Fairweather); 96, 163, 279, 287, 309, 309.1, 319, 465, 480.1, 481

qualifications: Andrew Young is described as Bachelor of Decrees while William Marshall was a Master of Arts.²⁴ Interestingly, Young and Marshall both suffered from defect of birth; each was the son of a priest and an unmarried woman.²⁵

William Marshall is also described in one supplication (dated 23 June 1477) as a rebel to the king. He 'is said and is publicly proclaimed to have incurred pain of rebellion by mandate of the king'.²⁶ It is likely that this was due to Marshall's repeated attempts to secure possession of the rectory of Forteviot to which he had been provided by the pope. The king wanted the benefice to be held by John Lyle, his physician. Previously Marshall had benefited from royal patronage as he had received dispensation to hold compatible benefices on 23 April 1472 'at his own petition and that of James, king of Scots'.²⁷

The subset consisting of those who were awarded privileges of familiars reveals an alternative pattern in some respects. Dioceses of origin are no more diverse except that Aberdeen can be added to St Andrews and Glasgow. Robert Blackadder, Robert Graham, Robert Keith, John Edwardson, Henry Boyce, Giles Boyce, and Patrick Sandiland shared a St Andrews origin whilst James Douglas and John Goldsmith were from Glasgow. The two clerics from Aberdeen were John Abernethy and

(William Marshall); 49, 54, 391, 403, 665, 666, 682, 703, 710, 744, 770, 771, 779, 826, 833, 836, 837, 839, 844, 861, 925, 928, 1022 (Andrew Young)

²⁴ Supp. Nos. 54, 391, 403, 665, 682, 839 (Andrew Young); 279, 309, 309.1, 319, 481 (William Marshall)

²⁵ Supp. Nos. 49, 391, 403, 703 (Andrew Young); 96, 279, 478.2, 481 (William Marshall)

²⁶ Supp. No. 481 which concerns Marshall's right to the rectory of Forteviot which James III wanted to secure for John Lyle, his *medicus*.

²⁷ CPR, XIII, 236. The supplication in question is not recorded in the extant *Registra Supplicationum*.

William Mowat.²⁸ Eight of the thirteen had qualifications: Robert Blackadder, John Abernethy, Robert Keith, John Edwardson, Giles Boyce, and Patrick Sandiland were Masters of Arts while John Goldsmith and Henry Boyce were Bachelors of Decrees as well as Masters of Arts.²⁹ Thus 61.5% of this subset had qualifications compared to 40% of the previous one.

The social status element is also significant as ten claimed baronial, noble or illustrious race - none of the papal familiars made this claim in their supplications. Of these ten, three were illegitimate: James Douglas was son of an earl and an unmarried woman; Robert Keith's father was an unmarried noble of a race of earls whilst his mother was an unmarried woman; and John Abernethy suffered from defect of birth as son of a married man of baronial race and an unmarried woman.³⁰

Connections with the king are important with this subset too. Indeed the king supplicated for five of these clerics: John Abernethy, John Edwardson, Henry Boyce, Giles Boyce, and Patrick Sandiland.³¹ John Edwardson and Henry Boyce

²⁸ Supp. Nos. 1427, 1444, 1454, 180, 311, 333, 373, 581, 584, 651 (Robert Blackadder); 1434 (Robert Graham); 1468, 1509 (Robert Keith); 1492, 8, 24, 25, 107, 141, 147, 154, 163, 230, 283, 284, 344, 407, 506 (John Edwardson); 121, 166, 452 (Henry Boyce); 121, 332, 342, 659, 664, 675, 709, 712, 740, 778, 783, 784, 823 (Giles Boyce); 121 (Patrick Sandiland); 1429 (James Douglas); 503, 643 (John Goldsmith); 1508, 1509, 340, 509 (John Abernethy); 454, 715, 716 (William Mowat)

²⁹ Supp. Nos. 1427, 1444, 1454, 197, 208, 333, 411, 589 (Robert Blackadder); 1508, 1509 (John Abernethy); 1468, 1509 (Robert Keith); 24, 25, 88, 104, 107, 127, 141, 147, 154, 163, 230, 283, 361, 370, 506, 866 (John Edwardson); 121, 332, 659, 664, 740, 758, 783, 784 (Giles Boyce); 121 (Patrick Sandiland); 503, 637, 643 (John Goldsmith); 121, 166, 184 (Henry Boyce)

³⁰ Supp. Nos. 1427, 1444, 1454, 197, 208, 333, 408, 411, 570, 693 (Robert Blackadder); 1434 (Robert Graham); 866 (John Edwardson); 121 (Henry Boyce, Giles Boyce and Patrick Sandiland); 674 (Alexander Tours); 1429, 869 (James Douglas); 1468, 1509 (Robert Keith); 1486, 1493, 1508, 1509, 340, 509 (John Abernethy)

³¹ Supp. Nos. 1508 (John Abernethy); 283, 284, 359 (John Edwardson); 121

were both at the *curia* on the business of the king as was Robert Blackadder, who was an ambassador of the king to the pope.³² James Douglas is described as *delectus* of the king.³³ Therefore 54% of this subset had connections with the king.

With regard to benefice-holding the members of both subsets had connections with a wide range of benefices throughout the country. The benefices obtained or sought by each cleric tended not to be restricted to one or two dioceses on the whole. Of the fourteen clerics who can be associated with specific benefices, eleven had connections with St Andrews diocese, nine with Glasgow, seven with Dunkeld, five with Aberdeen, four with Moray, four with Dunblane, four with Galloway, two with Brechin, and one in each of the dioceses of Caithness, Ross and Sodor. The only two dioceses not represented at all are Orkney and Argyll. Since more than half of the eighteen individuals concerned desired cathedral dignities or canonries and prebends this result is perhaps not surprising as these latter two dioceses had considerably fewer prebends. Kirkwall cathedral had a mere seven prebends in the period whilst Lismore had nine. This can be contrasted with the thirty-two prebends of Glasgow and the thirty prebends of Aberdeen.³⁴ In view of the fact that familiars of the pope who had been granted expectative graces had precedence over other clerics with similar expectative graces, it follows that clerics would be keen firstly to acquire privileges of familiars and secondly to ensure that their expectative graces

(Henry Boyce, Giles Boyce and Patrick Sandiland)

³² Supp. Nos. 283 (John Edwardson); 166 (Henry Boyce); 180, 197, 208, 333, 373, 374, 408, 411, 515, 519, 534, 563, 570, 581, 589 (Robert Blackadder). For their connections with the king, see pages 118-28 below

³³ Supp. No. 1429. See also Supp. No. 24 in which John Edwardson is described as beloved of the king

³⁴ I B Cowan, 'The Organisation of Scottish Secular Cathedral Chapters', *RSC'HS* XIV (1960), 41-2, 45-7

applied to dioceses with a large number of benefices as vacancies would be more likely to occur.

The relative wealth of cathedral dignities could also be a factor as dignities in the dioceses of Caithness, Ross, Sodor, Orkney and Argyll tended to be of substantially lesser value.³⁵ For example, from the values given in the supplications the mean value of the deanery of Argyll is £8 sterling compared to £55 sterling for the deanery of Moray. Similarly the mean value for the archdeaconry of Orkney is £9 sterling while the corresponding figure for the archdeaconry of Teviotdale in Glasgow diocese is approximately £42 sterling.³⁶

It is difficult to make sweeping generalisations regarding benefice-holding as there is so much variation. A few examples should help to illustrate this point. In September 1481 Giles Boyce claimed to be in possession of the perpetual vicarage of Aberchirder in the diocese of Moray, the perpetual vicarage of Arbirlot in St Andrews diocese, a canonry and prebend in Aberdeen, a canonry and dignity in Aberdeen, and the deanery of Aberdeen. At this time he was also trying to secure the precentorship of Moray to which he had been provided by apostolic authority and over which he was litigating.³⁷ The previous month saw him supplicating for the

³⁵ Values of benefices are a particularly problematic area as the sum of fruits given can vary considerably from supplication to supplication. For example, the archdeaconry of Dunblane ranges in value from £18 sterling to £32 sterling (see Supp. Nos. 174, 175, 177, 564, 689, 694, 757, 816). An important element to consider is the effect which pensions had on reducing the values of fruits.

³⁶ These mean figures are calculated from values given in the following supplications: 8 (deanery of Argyll); 917, 1030 (deanery of Moray); 1015 (archdeaconry of Orkney); and 1531, 68, 254, 256, 621, 622, 660 (archdeaconry of Teviotdale)

³⁷ Supp. No. 783 in which the names of the vicarages appear as *Aberherder* and

chancellorship of Aberdeen which was expected to fall vacant.³⁸ Thus a collection of benefices from three different dioceses were held concurrently. John Goldsmith, on the other hand, is associated with only two benefices in the supplications for the period; the rectory of St Mary of Arran in the diocese of Sodor and the vicarage of Eastwood in Glasgow diocese. In May 1477 Goldsmith resigned the former into the hands of the Pope in order to exchange it for the latter which was held by John Motherwell.³⁹ Goldsmith, a chapter scribe in Glasgow, was later to become Principal of Glasgow University for a brief period in 1485, and again in 1488, before being elected Rector of the Faculty of Arts in 1490.⁴⁰

Alexander Rait

The prime example of the career of a papal familiar is that of Alexander Rait, a familiar of both Pope Paul II and Pope Sixtus IV. He first appears in the Vatican records as a suppliant on 28 June 1459, at which date he was already a continual commensal familiar of the cardinal priest titular of Santa Maria.⁴¹ A supplication of

Abedor. The identification of the latter is inconclusive but is based on evidence from other supplications concerning Boyce in which the spellings, for what appears to be the same benefice, are: *Inkellor, Arbrellot, Arbrelloc, Alberellot, Aberrellot, Aberellot, Abirillot, Abherallot, Arbirillot*. See Supp Nos. 675, 684, 684.1, 709, 712, 758, 826, 827, 837. See also D E R Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, Scottish Record Society, New Series I (Edinburgh, 1969), 225 for precentorship of Moray. There is no mention of Giles Boyce, however, in the list of deans of Aberdeen cf. 8; although there is some dubiety about the date of death of Richard Forbes.

³⁸ Supp. No. 778. See also D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 13

³⁹ Supp. No. 478. See also Supp Nos. 480, 503, 637, 643

⁴⁰ John Durkan and James Kirk, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977), 130-1, 143-4. See also L J Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514* (Aberdeen, 1995), 65

⁴¹ *Reg. Supp.* 519,79. This cardinal is presumably Pietro Barbo. Although Barbo had exchanged this titular church for St Mark's in 1451, a papal letter of the

14 December 1459 reveals that Rait held no benefice at this stage.⁴² However, after gaining provision to the canonry and prebend of Moneydie in the diocese of Dunkeld, a series of provisions was to follow. By the time that he died before 5 April 1479,⁴³ Rait's interest had extended to fifteen different benefices in eight dioceses - although he was unable to gain possession of all of these benefices. Indeed at various times he was involved in litigation over seven of them. Rait favoured mainly canonries and prebends along with cathedral dignities, accounting for two thirds of the benefices concerned.

The benefices in order of first mention of interest were: the canonry and prebend of Moneydie in Dunkeld diocese (June 1459); the canonry and prebend of Mortlach in Aberdeen (June 1460); the perpetual vicarage of Dunnottar in St Andrews (July 1462); the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan in Moray (August 1465); the canonry and prebend of Kildonan in Caithness (November 1465); the archdeaconry of Aberdeen (May 1468); the canonry and prebend of Kilmoir in Brechin (July 1468); the canonry and prebend of Stobo in Glasgow (February 1469); the canonry and prebend of Glasgow Secundo (January 1472); the perpetual vicarage of Linlithgow in St Andrews (January 1474); the archdeaconry of Dunblane (April 1474); the canonry and prebend of Renfrew in Glasgow (December same date as the supplication declares Rait to be a continual commensal member of the household of Peter, cardinal priest of St Mark's; *CPR*, XII, 6. A supplication of 14 December 1459 also describes Rait as a continual commensal familiar of the cardinal of St Mark's; *Reg. Supp.* 526,47. Barbo was later elected to the pontificate in August 1464 and reigned as Pope Paul II until his death in July 1471. See L Pastor, *History of the Popes* IV, translated by F I Antrobus (London, 1900), 14; C Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, second edition, II (Münster, 1914), 9, 73, 77

⁴² *Reg. Supp.* 526,47

⁴³ *Supp.* Nos. 665, 666

1474); the deanery of Dunkeld (January 1475); the parish church of Inchbrayock in St Andrews (June 1475); and a canonry and prebend of the collegiate church of Abernethy in Dunblane (after June 1478).⁴⁴

Cockburn has denounced Rait as a 'persistent and monstrous pluralist'.⁴⁵ Yet, from evidence of supplicants seeking provision to benefices following Rait's death, he appears to have held only three of the aforementioned benefices at, or around, time of death: the archdeaconry of Aberdeen; the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan in Moray; and the perpetual vicarage of Dunnottar in St Andrews diocese.⁴⁶ Furthermore, all of the benefices connected with Rait were not held concurrently and Rait took care to secure the necessary dispensations to hold incompatible benefices. For example, in October 1471 he sought dispensation to hold the archdeaconry of Aberdeen, if he won it through his current litigation, along

⁴⁴ See *Reg. Supp.* 519,79, *CPR*, XII, 6 (Moneydie); *Reg. Supp.* 523,247 (Mortlach); *Reg. Supp.* 553,41v (Dunnottar); *Reg. Supp.* 583,189v (Kinnoir and Dunbennan); *CPR*, XII, 485 (Kildonan); *Reg. Supp.* 624,196v (archdeaconry of Aberdeen); *CPR*, XII, 622 (Kilmoir); *Reg. Supp.* 637,281 (Stobo); *Supp.* No. 32 (Glasgow Secundo); *Supp.* No. 166 (Linlithgow); *Supp.* No. 174, *CPR*, XIII, 33 (archdeaconry of Dunblane); *CPR*, XIII, 38 (Renfrew); *Supp.* No. 217, *CPR*, XIII, 40-1 (deanery of Dunkeld); *Supp.* No. 263 (Inchbrayock); *Supp.* No. 689, *Rota*, 10.66-68v (Abernethy)

⁴⁵ J H Cockburn, *The Medieval Bishops of Dunblane and their Church* (Edinburgh, 1959), 259. Cockburn also criticises Rait for being 'up to 8 Jun. 1475 at least . . . designated acolyte, and therefore unfit canonically to discharge the duties of any of his bens., digs., offices.'; *ibid.* However, by the date which Cockburn cites, Rait was an acolyte of the pope - an honorary position. See footnote 87 and pages 113-14 below. In fact Rait (with the title of rector of Dunnottar) had been promoted to the priesthood in 1466; *Libri Formatarum*, PRO transcripts, 31/9-29, 107. For information about this source and ordinations, see pages 158-62 below.

⁴⁶ See *Supp.* Nos. 665, 666, 671, 692, 692.1, 693, 694, 696, 702, 703, 779, 840, 1022. It was claimed that the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan had been resigned into the hands of John [Cant], the archdeacon of Dunblane less than twenty days before Rait's death *in partibus* and that subsequently Cant had collated and provided the benefice to another Alexander Rait, a clerk from the diocese of Tournai, see *Supp.* No. 714. For surname Cant, see D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 89-90

with the rectory [*sic*] of Dunnottar or, without them, any two incompatibles for life with power of exchange.⁴⁷ In April 1474 this dispensation was extended to three incompatibles, allowing for the addition of the archdeaconry of Dunblane.⁴⁸ A dispensation to hold three incompatibles including the deanery of Dunkeld was granted in January 1475, although no mention was made of the other benefices included.⁴⁹

The full picture is complicated by the litigation involved. For example, although Rait was provided to the canonry and prebend of Moneydie in Dunkeld diocese in June 1459, by June 1460 he was litigating over it and was still seeking an end to the cause in August 1465 despite having paid for bulls (dated September 1464) in December 1464.⁵⁰ By July 1475 John Edmondston was seeking provision to the benefice which he claimed was vacant due to Rait's possession of the deanery of Dunkeld.⁵¹ Thereafter no mention is made of this canonry and prebend in relation to Rait. Similarly all three of the benefices which were held by Rait in 1479 had been litigated over prior to his death.⁵² It would also appear that Rait was involved in

⁴⁷ Supp. No. 7

⁴⁸ Supp. No. 174

⁴⁹ Supp. No. 217

⁵⁰ *Reg. Supp.* 519,79; *CPR*, XII, 6; *Reg. Supp.* 523,247; *Reg. Supp.* 531,143v; *Reg. Supp.* 585,8v; Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 148

⁵¹ Supp. No. 273. Annie Dunlop's slip for this supplication gives Dunblane as the diocese for both the canonry and prebend and the deanery. In the typed up version the *Monede* on the slip was standardised as *Monzie* which was indeed a prebend in Dunblane, although not until the sixteenth century; see I B Cowan, 'The Organisation of Scottish Secular Cathedral Chapters', *RSCHS* XIV (1960), 43. Rait is nowhere else connected with either of these benefices in Dunblane, whereas there is much evidence to link him with the canonry and prebend of Moneydie and the deanery, both in Dunkeld diocese. Indeed, recourse to the supplication in the register has shown that Dunkeld is the correct transcription.

⁵² By 31 July 1462 Rait was litigating anent the perpetual vicarage of Dunnottar against Patrick Reid. Although the first sentence was found in Rait's favour, Reid

litigation anent the deanery of Dunkeld at the time of his death, as a suit was pending between him and Alexander Inglis whom John *Lystar* considered to be unlawfully detaining the dignity in September 1479.⁵³ In addition there was litigation anent the archdeaconry of Dunblane and the canonry and prebend of Renfrew. Although he was not in possession of the former Rait exchanged it with John Cant for a canonry and prebend of the collegiate church of Abernethy in Dunblane some time between June 1478 and 9 July 1479. Rait's right to the latter benefice, which had been accepted by virtue of an expectative grace in December 1474, seems to have been resigned before December 1476.⁵⁴

The position regarding the remainder of the benefices Rait had connections with is not always clear, partly due to lack of evidence. Therefore it is possible merely to provide a summary of events. In June 1460 Rait sought provision of the canonry and

appealed but the appeal was deserted, so Rait sought surrogation to Reid's right on 9 April 1468. In November 1470 Rait resigned the benefice to be paid a pension by William Lowris. However, he was litigating again in October 1471 and by April 1474 held the benefice. See *Reg. Supp.* 553,41v; 625,92v; *Supp.* Nos. 1466, 7, 174; *CPR*, XIII, 33. The canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan was petitioned for in August 1465 and *annates* were paid in the same month. However, by April 1470 Rait was litigating. See *Reg. Supp.* 583,189v; Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 149-50; *Supp.* No. 1437. Rait's attempts to secure possession of the archdeaconry of Aberdeen lasted for at least six years. Despite gaining confirmation of his provision (through an expectative grace) in May 1468, litigation was in progress by October 1471. By 30 April 1474 Rait had been awarded two definitive sentences in his favour and a suit was pending in third instance. See *Reg. Supp.* 624,196v; *Supp.* Nos. 7, 174; *CPR*, XIII, 33. See also *CPR*, XIII, 16-17; *Supp.* No. 162; *Rota*, 8A.39v-110; D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 19

⁵³ *Supp.* No. 707. Cf. D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 105 where no mention is made of litigation between Rait and Inglis, and John *Lystar* does not appear in the list of deans.

⁵⁴ For information regarding Rait's connection with these benefices see *Supp.* Nos. 174, 216, 265, 689, 694, 757; *CPR*, XIII, 33, 41, 43, 103-4; Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 178, 203; *Rota*, 10.66-68v (archdeaconry of Dunblane); *Supp.* Nos. 215, 307, 410, 419.1; *CPR*, XIII, 38 (Renfrew)

prebend of Mortlach in Aberdeen while in November 1465 he was collated to the canonry and prebend of Kildonan in Caithness and received bulls of provision in February 1466.⁵⁵ The canonry and prebend of Kilmoir in Brechin was collated and provided to Rait in July 1468 but he resigned the benefice at the apostolic see before 4 April 1470.⁵⁶ The canonry and prebend of Stobo in Glasgow was provided through an expectative grace and Rait paid the *annates* in August 1470.⁵⁷ On 27 January 1472 Rait, sought prorogation for another year of the term of informing the possessor of the canonry and prebend of Glasgow Secundo of his own provision, through an expectative grace. He was granted a prorogation for three months.⁵⁸ The parish church of Inchbrayock in St Andrews was sought in June 1475, but thereafter no more is heard of the outcome.⁵⁹ The sole remaining benefice which can possibly be connected with Rait is the perpetual vicarage of Linlithgow in St Andrews diocese. On 28 January 1474 Henry Boyce sought provision to this benefice and the result clause of the supplication states *Fiat ut petitur reservata pensione tercię partis pro Alexandro familiari nostro* - that is, that a third of the fruits be reserved as a pension to Alexander, familiar of the pope.⁶⁰ It seems likely that this was Alexander Rait.

At various times Rait acted as a procurator on behalf of both laity and clergy. In April 1466 he represented three couples from the diocese of Dunkeld who paid

⁵⁵ *Reg. Supp.* 523,247, 531,143v; *CPR*, XII, 485; Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 153

⁵⁶ *CPR*, XII, 622; Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 161

⁵⁷ *Reg. Supp.* 637,281, 638,276v; *CPR*, XII, 682; Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 163

⁵⁸ *Supp.* No. 32

⁵⁹ *Supp.* No. 263

⁶⁰ *Supp.* No. 166

expenses to the Apostolic Camera for dispensation for matrimony within the forbidden degrees.⁶¹ In July 1466 he offered 200 florins gold of camera for the common service and five customary little services payable for the bulls of provision of James abbot of Balmerino. Earlier in November 1465 he had prosecuted the resignation of the canonry and prebend of Abernethy, Dunblane diocese, by James Kennedy.⁶² He again acted on behalf of a Kennedy in February 1473 when he acted as procurator for Gilbert Kennedy's resignation of the canonry and prebend of Kincardine, Moray diocese.⁶³ One month later Rait was acting as procurator for Walter Douglas, a priest from Glasgow diocese, in a dispute regarding the perpetual vicarage of Galston, Glasgow diocese.⁶⁴ An Alexander Rait also acted as procurator for Patrick Piot in relation to a dispute with John Chalmers over the hospital of St Germain in Aberdeen diocese.⁶⁵ However, it is not certain whether this was the same Rait as he is here described as clerk of Aberdeen instead of the usual description, clerk of St Andrews diocese.

It may be worth speculating on the social networking in operation here. In the case of the marriage dispensations it is unclear what the connection may have been other than that Rait was by this time a canon of Dunkeld and appears to have originated from the diocese of St Andrews. All three couples were from Dunkeld diocese with the exception of one of the women who was from the diocese of St Andrews.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 283. The couples were: *Colin Dunchayn* and *Marcharita*; *Dunnald Malcuson* and *Maria*; and *Dovunald Thomasij* and *Catherina*.

⁶² *CPR*, XII, 485

⁶³ *CPR*, XIII, 340

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 346-7

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 462

⁶⁶ The woman in question was *Marcharita*, wife of *Colin Dunchayn*.

There may be a family connection with regard to the above-mentioned provision to the abbacy of Balmerino in St Andrews diocese as the abbot in question was James Rait.⁶⁷ Certainly the geographical proximity of Rait (the place), Balmerino and Dunkeld serve to increase the likelihood of this connection.⁶⁸

The Kennedy connections are possibly the most interesting, though, in relation to Rait's own benefice-holding. Before 28 June 1459 Pope Pius II had recently given mandate of provision to Rait of one or two benefices in the presentation of the bishop and the prior and chapter of St Andrews, and of the abbot and convent of Arbroath.⁶⁹ Rait probably used this grace to be provided to the perpetual vicarage of Dunnottar, anent which he was litigating by 31 July 1462.⁷⁰ By 16 February 1465 he had gained a definitive adjudicatory sentence in his favour from the cause in its first instance.⁷¹ Throughout this period James Kennedy was bishop of St Andrews and was to be succeeded in November 1465 by his nephew Patrick Graham, archbishop of St Andrews from August 1472.⁷² Perhaps Rait's procuratorship of James Kennedy, who was probably an illegitimate kinsman of his namesake, was

⁶⁷ Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 57. *James de Rute* was provided to the monastery of St Mary of Balmerino on 5 March 1466.

⁶⁸ Alexander Rait's surname is given as *de Rate* or *De Rhate* in Supp. No. 689 and elsewhere; for example, see Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 153, 163, 283. This would suggest a connection with the place Rait - most likely in Perthshire, in the vicinity of the Carse of Gowrie.

⁶⁹ *C'PR*, XII, 6

⁷⁰ *Reg. Supp.* 553,41v. Rait had accepted the benefice by an expectative grace, see *Reg. Supp.* 625,92v (9 April 1468). Cowan does not state the patronage of Dunnottar prior to 1502 when the parsonage and vicarage fruits were annexed to the prebends of the dean and subdean of Trinity Collegiate Church in Edinburgh, see I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society, XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967), 54

⁷¹ *Reg. Supp.* 578,296

⁷² D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 295. James Kennedy died on 24 May 1465.

performed in the hope of reciprocal action from the new Kennedy bishop regarding Dunnottar.⁷³ However, the role of the former bishop is uncertain as Patrick Reid, Rait's adversary was claiming collation to the benefice by ordinary authority.⁷⁴

Again, on 1 January 1472 Rait was granted an expectative grace to a benefice in the collation of the bishop of St Andrews and the prior and chapter.⁷⁵ If his procuratorship of Gilbert Kennedy in February 1473 was connected in any way,⁷⁶ the attempt to improve his own situation obviously failed; by 15 June 1474 he was concerned that the grace would never be put into effect and supplicated that it be altered to a canonry and prebend in Glasgow.⁷⁷ Rait's concern, though, may reflect

⁷³ James Kennedy, a kinsman of James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews suffered from defect of birth as the son of an unmarried man and an unmarried woman. He can be linked to three benefices - the rectory of Tannadice, the canonry and prebend of Govan, and the deanery of Caithness. He was a Master of Arts and it is likely that he is the *Jacobus Kenedy* (or *Kenady*) who appears in the records of the Arts Faculty of St Andrews University as a determinant in 1443-4 and as a licentiate in 1448. His death can be dated to pre 15 June 1466. See *Reg. Supp.* 535,52, 535,69, 553,229v, 594,18v; *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588*, 2 vols, Scottish History Society, third series, LV, ed A I Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1964), I, 59, 73. It is also possible that he is the same James Kennedy who employed Rait as his procurator when he resigned the canonry and prebend of Abernethy: on this resignation an Alexander Lumsden, MA, priest d.StA., of noble race, supplicated to be provided and (the same?) Alexander Lumsden, clerk d.StA., of noble race on both sides, supplicated to be provided to the deanery of Caithness on the death of James Kennedy. See *Reg. Supp.* 587,227v, 588,44, 596,274v

⁷⁴ *Reg. Supp.* 625,92v. Reid had appealed against the sentence found in Rait's favour but the appeal was deserted before he died prior to 9 April 1468.

⁷⁵ *Supp.* No. 199; *CPR*, XIII, 278. The expectative grace in question is probably connected with the graces given to papal familiars on 1 January 1472 although that supplication obviously does not mention specific dioceses as it is a general text for familiars from various places throughout Christendom.

⁷⁶ A Gilbert Kennedy was a nephew of Patrick Graham, bishop of St Andrews. See *Reg. Supp.* 589,186 and also 590,55-55v in which he appears among a list of kinsmen and dilectors of the bishop. A Gilbert Kennedy was a determinant in the Arts Faculty of St Andrews University in 1465-6 and a licentiate in 1467. He became Dean of the Faculty in 1469. See A I Dunlop, *op. cit.*, II, 157, 160, 169

⁷⁷ *Supp.* No. 199; *CPR*, XIII, 278

the delicate position of Graham, who had been recently created archbishop of St Andrews. Graham had only returned to Scotland at around the end of 1473 and may have already shown signs of mental illness: '... by August 1473 ... we get the first hints that the king had learned something of the confusion which was overtaking the poor man, presumably progressively'.⁷⁸

Rait was also employed as an executor and not only for Scottish benefices.⁷⁹ On 26 October 1469 he, as a canon of Dunkeld, along with the bishop of Candida Casa and the abbot of Paisley, was given mandate to execute the collation and provision of John *Blaber* to the rectory of Raynpatrick in Glasgow diocese.⁸⁰ Likewise, on 17 February 1470 Rait, together with the bishop of Urbino and the archdeacon of Elne, was mandated to make a grant *in commendam* of the chamberlainship of the Benedictine monastery of St Mary de la Grasse in the diocese of Carcassonne.⁸¹

It is curious that Rait is nowhere described as possessing any qualification. E F Jacob states that a proctor [*Scottice* procurator] was 'a mixture of solicitor and

⁷⁸ D E R Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester and New York, 1984), 125

⁷⁹ Executors appear to have been named by supplicants (or their procurators) and their number, and the number of letters expedited, was determined by the type of grace being granted. Leonard E Boyle, 'The Papal Chancery at the end of the Fifteenth Century', in *CPR*, XV, xvi: 'When, for example, the grace concerned the grant of a vacant benefice to a suppliant who resided outside the curia, then one letter was enough, if the executor named by the suppliant or procurator was a prelate or a canon. But if a reservation of a benefice was in question, then three executors had to be named and two letters were necessary, one to the suppliant, a second to the executors.' See also, A D M Barrell, *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378* (Cambridge, 1995), 121

⁸⁰ *CPR*, XII, 720

⁸¹ *ibid.*, 753

advocate' and was faced with 'difficult and responsible work, and nobody without special qualifications in canon law or 'both laws' could take it on.'⁸² Perhaps Rait did possess qualifications before entering the household of the cardinal of Santa Maria and did not feel the need to state them after his patron had become Pope Paul II. It cannot be proved either way, however, as Andrew Young, another papal familiar in the same period, sometimes did and sometimes did not state his qualifications in supplications in which he was described as a familiar of the pope.⁸³ Nevertheless, Rait does not appear to have studied at St Andrews University, his original local seat of learning.⁸⁴ It is possible, though, that he may have had some legal training since he was appointed a papal notary or protonotary (presumably, of honorary status) prior to his death.⁸⁵

For much of his career Alexander Rait was active in Rome and therefore unable to fulfil his ecclesiastical duties in Scotland in person. Nevertheless provision was made for proxies to act on his behalf. For example, on 20 June 1475 Rait sought and secured an indult for life to visit ecclesiastical benefices and places within his archdeaconries of Aberdeen and Dunblane by deputy or deputies and to take up the procurations in money.⁸⁶ On 5 January 1476, though, Rait made clear his intentions

⁸² E F Jacob, 'To and from the court of Rome in the early fifteenth century', in Jacob, E F, *Essays in Later Medieval History* (New York, 1968), 59

⁸³ Compare, for example, Supp. Nos. 665 and 844

⁸⁴ This is the case for the Faculty of Arts, at least. The only appearances of an Alexander Rait are in the early 1480s: an *Alexander Rayt* was a determinant in 1482-3 and probably the same *Alexander Rat* was a licentiate in 1484. See A I Dunlop, *op. cit.*, II, 214, 217

⁸⁵ See Supp. Nos. 689, 702, 757, 779; *CPR*, XIII, 732-3. For the office of protonotary, see section on papal officials and honorific positions, below pages 112-13

⁸⁶ Supp. No. 265; *CPR*, XIII, 43

to travel outwith the Roman Court. In addition to being granted the right to continue enjoying privileges of continual commensals of the papal household, he was also to be provided with letters of safe-conduct and a retinue of four.⁸⁷ It is not known where Rait travelled but when he died it was outwith the Roman court *in partibus*.⁸⁸ No information has been found concerning his age but he was in an infirm state twenty days before his death when he resigned the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan into the hands of John Cant, archdeacon of Dunblane.⁸⁹

Familiars of Cardinals

Scots were not only associated with the papal household but were members of households of cardinals and at times benefited from their patronage with regard to papal provisions. It remains far from clear exactly what the reciprocal arrangement was, though, in their case. Certainly cardinals required some of their familiars to fulfil particular duties such as those of secretary or master of the household. None of the Scots who were named as cardinal familiars in supplications in the 1470-84 period appear to have attained such high status, however.

⁸⁷ *CPR*, XIII, 220. By this time Rait was also an acolyte of the pope. He is first described as a papal acolyte on 8 June 1475, at which date he sought indult to have a portable altar: *ibid.*; Supp. No. 258. The licence he obtained on 3 January 1475 to resign and exchange benefices into the hands of ordinaries or ecclesiastical persons of his choice without requiring licence of the apostolic see may also be connected with an intention to travel: Supp. No. 216; *CPR*, XIII, 41

⁸⁸ See, for example, Supp. Nos. 692, 692.1, 693; Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 196. A papal letter of 24 August 1479 states that Rait was 'a continual commensal member of the pope's household, who has died extra R.c. after retiring from his membership of the said household.': *CPR*, XIII, 649. It is not clear though whether this retirement was *de iure* as well as *de facto*.

⁸⁹ Supp. No. 714. See also footnote 46. Rait had previously exchanged the archdeaconry of Dunblane with Cant for a canonry and prebend of the collegiate church of Abernethy, see Supp. No. 689

Cardinal households could be very large: the funeral discourse of Pietro Riario, cardinal of San Sisto, nephew of the pope, stated that the number of his household was about 500.⁹⁰ Pietro Riario, admittedly, led a particularly lavish lifestyle,⁹¹ but 'Cardinals were expected to maintain large households, to inhabit impressive palaces and to entertain on a grand scale as part of the social exchanges and rituals that were so important in the life of the papal court'.⁹² A document dated 28 December 1509 lists numbers of members of twenty-six cardinals' households, the range being from 101 to 250.⁹³ The geographical origins, social status and educational backgrounds of household members would vary in nature according to the cardinal concerned. For example, the household of Francesco Gonzaga, cardinal of Santa Maria Nuova from 1461, contained few clerics and few members from an unprivileged social background.⁹⁴ Francesco Soderini, cardinal of Volterra from 1503, had a household consisting mainly of 'ambitious young men from outside Rome and outside Florentine territory' despite the fact that he was of Florentine origin himself.⁹⁵ Pietro Riario's familiars were all said to be of respectable origin and ranged in profession from prelates to poets.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 239 note, citing Cod. 45, C.18, ff. 117-23 of the Corsini Library, Rome. See also *ibid.*, 234 note and 253 note. Riario died on 5 January 1474 after suffering from a violent fever; *ibid.*, 253. The funeral discourse was composed by Niccolò, Bishop of Modrus. See footnote 96 below.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, ch. 2, *passim*

⁹² K J P Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy - the Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453-1524)* (Cambridge, 1993), 247

⁹³ *ibid.*, 236, citing A.V., Fondo Concist., Acta Miscell., 3,28r & v. The list was compiled 'for the purpose of regulating how much wine per household could be exempted from tax.' Lowe points out that it is uncertain whether the figures are estimates or actual.

⁹⁴ D S Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444-1483)* (London, 1992), 12-18

⁹⁵ K J P Lowe, *op. cit.*, 242

⁹⁶ N Clark, *Melozzo da Forlì: Pictor Papalis* (London, 1990), 92 note 16, quoting from funeral oration (see footnote 90 above): *quingentos fere pascebat*

Scottish Familiars of Cardinals

In the supplications from 1470 to August 1484 twelve Scots are attributed as being familiars of cardinals. These were John Blackadder, Nicholas Savart, Thomas Ruch, Patrick Hume, Thomas Vaus, Nicholas Forman, Dennis Auchinleck, Thomas Cranston, Rupert Stewart, Andrew Young (or Forfar), William Marshall, and Giles Boyce.⁹⁷ Andrew Young and William Marshall were also papal familiars and Giles Boyce acquired privileges of papal familiars. In addition to these twelve Scottish familiars of cardinals there can be added two other cardinal familiars who were associated with Scottish benefices in the period. These were John *de Eloys* (or *de Eloysiis*) and John *Duhoux* (or *Dechanx* or *Dehoux*).⁹⁸

As with the papal familiars the available information shows that the cardinal familiars originated mainly from the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow: John Blackadder, Patrick Hume, Nicholas Forman, and Giles Boyce from St Andrews; and William Marshall, Andrew Young, and Dennis Auchinleck from Glasgow.⁹⁹

familiares: partim illustri partim nobili omnes honesto loco natos: prelatos milites doctores oratores poetas, aut alicui alii honestae arti deditos . . .

⁹⁷ For supplications in which they are described as being cardinal familiars, see Supp. Nos.: 23.2, 117.1, 129, 149 (John Blackadder); 23.2 (Nicholas Savart); 248, 276 (Thomas Ruch); 1450 (Patrick Hume); 1462, 733, 734, 735, 805, 808, 825, 852 (Thomas Vaus); 598, 603, 621, 625.1, 650, 658, 658.1 (Nicholas Forman); 692, 702, 703, 779 (Dennis Auchinleck); 1000 (Thomas Cranston); 23.3 (Rupert Stewart); 49, 54, 391, 403, 703, 710, 744, 770, 771, 772, 779, 928, 952, 977, 978 (Andrew Young); 96, 279, 309, 309.1, 319, 481, 516, 929 (William Marshall); 877 (Giles Boyce)

⁹⁸ Supp. Nos. 605, 867 (John *de Eloys* or *de Eloysiis*); 650, 660 (John *Duhoux* or *Dechanx* or *Dehoux*)

⁹⁹ Supp. Nos. 117.1 (John Blackadder); 123, 256 (Patrick Hume); 598, 603, 621, 625.1, 650 (Nicholas Forman); 23.1, 692, 703, 779, 1022 (Dennis Auchinleck). See footnote 23 for William Marshall and Andrew Young, and footnote 28 for Giles Boyce

Thomas Vaus was from the diocese of Moray.¹⁰⁰ Six had qualifications (approximately 43% of this subgroup): in addition to Andrew Young, William Marshall and Giles Boyce, Thomas Vaus, Dennis Auchinleck and Patrick Hume were holders of degrees (being Masters of Arts).¹⁰¹ As previously mentioned Young and Marshall were illegitimate.¹⁰² John Blackadder, Nicholas Forman, Thomas Vaus, Patrick Hume, Giles Boyce, and Dennis Auchinleck were all of baronial or noble race.¹⁰³ Nicholas Forman was in the twentieth year of his age in October 1478 but had died before 10 February 1479.¹⁰⁴

Royal connections are not so apparent from internal evidence in the supplications in the case of this subset. As discussed earlier, William Marshall and Giles Boyce were recipients of royal favour in the early years of the pontificate, although Marshall was subsequently to find himself in opposition to his former patron. Patrick Hume was also supplicated for by the king in connection with the long drawn out issue of the priory of Coldingham.¹⁰⁵ On 3 April 1473 the king supplicated that the priory should be united to the Chapel Royal and that Patrick Hume be provided as dean, after

¹⁰⁰ Supp. No. 4. Cf. John Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), 369 where Vaus is stated to originate from Aberdeen diocese (from records of University of Paris)

¹⁰¹ Supp. Nos. 1462, 556, 557 (Thomas Vaus); 692 (Dennis Auchinleck); 155, 256 (Patrick Hume). Hume is simply described as master. See footnote 24 for Young and Marshall, and footnote 29 for Boyce

¹⁰² See footnote 25

¹⁰³ Supp. Nos. 117.1 (John Blackadder); 598, 621 (Nicholas Forman); 556 (Thomas Vaus); 21 (Patrick Hume); 121 (Giles Boyce); 692 (Dennis Auchinleck)

¹⁰⁴ Supp. Nos. 621, 650

¹⁰⁵ For details of the case see R B Dobson, 'The last English monks on Scottish soil - the severance of Coldingham priory from the monastery of Durham 1461-78', *SHR* XLVI (1967), 1-25; N A T Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982), 103, 225-8, 231; N Macdougall, 'The Struggle for the priory of Coldingham, 1472-1488', *IR* XXIII (1972), 102-14; Supp. Nos. 21, 46.1, 64, 78, 116, 146, 380

resigning his commendatorship of the priory.¹⁰⁶ However, by 19 August 1476 the original plan had been altered and the king, together with Patrick Hume and John Hume, was supplicating for the same union but that John Hume be provided as dean with a pension being granted to Patrick for life.¹⁰⁷ Thomas Vaus had been keeper of the Privy Seal and secretary of James II,¹⁰⁸ but there is no indication from the 1470-84 supplications of any relationship with James III.

On the whole the cardinal familiars tended to concentrate their attentions on gaining benefices in no more than two or three different dioceses during the period, the principal exceptions being Patrick Hume (with interest in benefices in the dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, Caithness and Aberdeen) and Andrew Young (whose interests stretched to the six dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin and Galloway). As with the benefice-holding patterns of the previous subsets, the popularity of benefices in St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Moray is noticeable. However, the dioceses of Dunblane, Dunkeld and Sodor in addition to Orkney and Argyll are absent for this group.

Expectative graces were also a feature with Nicholas Savart, continual commensal familiar of the cardinal of Rouen, and Rupert Stewart, continual commensal familiar of the cardinal deacon of St Eustachius, both receiving provision to two canonries with expectation of prebends and one or two benefices.¹⁰⁹ It is not known whether

¹⁰⁶ Supp. No. 116

¹⁰⁷ Supp. No. 380

¹⁰⁸ John Dowden, *op. cit.*, 369

¹⁰⁹ Supp. Nos. 23.2, 23.3. The cardinal of Rouen was Guillaume d'Estouteville who had been elevated to the cardinalate on 18 December 1439. Among his prelacies were the archbishopric of Rouen and the bishopric of Ostia; C Eubel, *op.*

either was able to gain benefices as a result of these graces - neither appears again in Scottish supplications of the 1470-84 period. On the other hand John Blackadder, continual commensal familiar of the cardinal of Rouen, who also received a similar expectative grace,¹¹⁰ had managed to gain the rectory of Minto in Glasgow diocese by 22 June 1473 (although it is not clear whether this was by virtue of the same grace),¹¹¹ having supplicated the previous month for a pension of 100 ducats gold of camera or 100 merks Scots to be paid to him for life from the fruits of the monastery of Arbroath by the commendator (Patrick, archbishop of St Andrews) and his successors.¹¹²

Cathedral dignities and canonries and prebends were fairly popular, particularly in the cases of Patrick Hume, Thomas Vaus, Andrew Young and Giles Boyce. The career of Thomas Vaus serves as a particularly interesting example. He was a continual commensal familiar of Guillaume d'Estouteville, cardinal of Rouen and supplicated on 15 February 1478 to be received as a papal acolyte.¹¹³ Four days previously he had supplicated for absolution from a sentence of excommunication which had been imposed on him after celebrating masses and other divine offices after having been 'suspended, interdicted, aggravated and reagravated' due to

cit., 8. The cardinal deacon of St Eustachius was Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini who had been elevated to the cardinalate on 5 March 1460 when bishop elect of Siena. He was later to become Pope Pius III (in 1503); *ibid.*, 14, 76

¹¹⁰ Supp. No. 23.2. This supplication, concerning expectative graces to canonries and prebends, was made by the cardinal of Rouen on behalf of his continual commensal familiars in the first year of the pontificate. It provides a list of these familiars who number ninety one including John Blackadder and Nicholas Savart.

¹¹¹ Supp. No. 129

¹¹² Supp. No. 117.1

¹¹³ Supp. No. 557

non-payment of debts to merchants (bankers) and other creditors. The debts were incurred as a result of his having 'followed the Roman Court for several years, as well by reason of litigation as for the maintenance of his state and honour in *curia*'.¹¹⁴ The litigation may refer to that anent the precentorship of Moray, a case which had been pursued since at least May 1471.¹¹⁵ Vaus was also holding the canonry and prebend of Methlick in Aberdeen along with two vicarages in that diocese.¹¹⁶

However, by the time of his death (before 8 June 1480),¹¹⁷ Vaus had exchanged the precentorship with Alexander Vaus for the perpetual vicarage of the parish church of St Nicholas in Aberdeen diocese, the resignations and exchange being administered by the dean of Ross, Martin Vaus.¹¹⁸ Similarly both the canonry and prebend of Methlick and the vicarage of Inverboyndie had been resigned into the hands of the

¹¹⁴ Supp. No. 556

¹¹⁵ Supp. No. 1517. See also D E R Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, second draft, Scottish Record Society, New Series I (Edinburgh, 1969), 224

¹¹⁶ Supp. No. 556 where the name of the prebend is given as *Murthilce*. The names of the vicarages are given as *Camse* and *Innerbende* and appear in the margin of the supplication along with the name of the prebend. The identification of the first of these vicarages is uncertain but the second is Inverboyndie which formed a single vicarage with Banff; I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society, XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967), 87-8

¹¹⁷ D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 225 (under entry for William Oliphant). It is likely that the following resignations took place at least two months before his death. They must have occurred before the death of Thomas Spens, bishop of Aberdeen on 15 April 1480 (*ibid.*, 3) as Supp. Nos. 733, 734 and 735 are dated 16 May 1480 during a vacancy in the bishopric - Blackadder, although elected before 12 June 1480, was not provided until 14 July - and do not refer to a bishop elect. Although the resignations and exchange of the precentorship of Moray and the perpetual vicarage of St Nicholas in Aberdeen were conducted by the dean of Ross, it is likely that Thomas Spens was acquiescent as the parish church of St Nicholas was the bishop's prebend; I B Cowan, *op. cit.*, 2. Cf. D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 224, where the exchange is dated after 4 August 1478 and before 8 June 1480.

¹¹⁸ Supp. No. 733

bishop of Aberdeen and the same Martin Vaus was to become the beneficiary.¹¹⁹

Martin Vaus has been identified by Dowden as the brother of Thomas Vaus,¹²⁰ and he had benefited from an earlier resignation by Thomas in his favour: before 14 May 1468 Thomas had resigned the deanery of Ross (to which he had been provided in either 1457 or 1458) into the hands of the bishop of Aberdeen and Martin was provided subsequently.¹²¹

A succession of disputes and resignations of his dignities can be traced with Thomas Vaus. The deanery of Glasgow was resigned on exchange with James Lindsay for the precentorship of Moray in 1468 following years of dispute.¹²² Likewise there had been litigation anent both the precentorship of Moray and the deanery of Ross.¹²³ In addition litigation had also ensued after provisions to the canonry and prebend of Cruden in Aberdeen in 1461 and to the canonry and prebend of Menmuir in Dunkeld in 1465.¹²⁴ A major disappointment had occurred even earlier, though, in November 1457, when he had failed to secure his provision to the bishopric of Galloway due to the cancellation of Thomas Spens' translation to the bishopric of Aberdeen.¹²⁵ Therefore, despite having received papal provision to a number of cathedral dignities and canonries and prebends during his career (in addition to parochial benefices), Vaus appears to have ended his life with a mere vicarage.

¹¹⁹ Supp. Nos. 734, 735

¹²⁰ John Dowden, *op. cit.*, 369

¹²¹ D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 273; Supp. No. 1462

¹²² D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 155

¹²³ *ibid.*, 224 (precentorship of Moray), 273 (deanery of Ross). See also Supp. Nos. 1517 and 4 for Vaus litigating anent the precentorship of Moray

¹²⁴ *CPR*, XI, 600, *CPR*, XII, 119, 374 note, 451, 786 (canonry and prebend of Cruden); *CPR*, XII, 462, 472 (canonry and prebend of Menmuir)

¹²⁵ D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 131-2; John Dowden, *op. cit.*, 369

Vaus merits attention since he was a recipient of both royal patronage and the patronage of a cardinal. In October 1458 the deanery of Ross was provided to Vaus, who was already dean of Glasgow, after a supplication by James II on behalf of his first secretary and privy counsellor.¹²⁶ Two years earlier in a papal letter concerning provision to the deanery of Glasgow, Vaus had been described as a 'member of the household of James king of Scots'.¹²⁷ However, this patronage was to be lost with the death of the king in August 1460. In September 1466 Vaus, a familiar of the cardinal of Rouen, was provided to the parish church of Tynninghame in St Andrews diocese, and received an indult to resign his benefices.¹²⁸ It was by virtue of these apostolic letters of the cardinal that Vaus was able to exchange the deanery of Glasgow for the precentorship of Moray.¹²⁹ It is not certain how long Vaus remained a familiar of the cardinal. Certainly at the time of his resignation of the deanery of Ross in 1468, Vaus was still a continual commensal familiar,¹³⁰ but supplications dated 16 May 1480 describe him as having been a continual commensal familiar of the cardinal.¹³¹ Nevertheless the fact that he became a papal acolyte as late as February 1478 may indicate a prolonged connection and indeed it was 'Guillermus' (whom Annie Cameron identifies as d'Estouteville) who issued Vaus' documentation of exemption as a papal acolyte.¹³²

¹²⁶ *Reg. Supp.* 514,61v; *CPR*, XI, 375-6. The supplication and bull are dated 21 October 1458. Watt suggests that a Thomas Ross, who was provided in May 1457, is probably identical with Thomas Vaus; D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 273

¹²⁷ *CPR*, XI, 271-2 (8 May 1456)

¹²⁸ *Reg. Supp.* 596,259; *CPR*, XII, 552-3

¹²⁹ *Reg. Supp.* 633,287

¹³⁰ *Supp.* No. 1462

¹³¹ *Supp.* Nos. 734, 735

¹³² Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, 330

The cardinal who was most associated with Scottish clerics was Guillaume d'Estouteville, cardinal bishop of Ostia and archbishop of Rouen, 'a wealthy and magnificent prince of the Church, and Chamberlain of the Camera for five years before his death in January 1483'.¹³³ Eight of the Scottish cardinal familiars were connected at some stage with him,¹³⁴ as was John *Duhoux*, a clerk from the diocese of Vanmes and a canon of Lyons, who received pensions from the fruits of the parish church of Carrington in St Andrews and the archdeaconry of Teviotdale in Glasgow.¹³⁵ D'Estouteville perhaps filled an unofficial role as Cardinal Protector of Scottish interests since it was he who related just under one half of Scottish consistorial provisions from November 1459 to September 1482.¹³⁶ In addition, it was to d'Estouteville that James III requested that execution of the annexation of the priory of Coldingham to the Chapel Royal be entrusted, and it surely cannot be coincidence that Patrick Hume, the king's favoured candidate for the deanery, was, or had been, a familiar of the cardinal.¹³⁷ D'Estouteville also acted as arbitrator in a dispute between William Cameron and John Wallace over the priory of St Andrews,

¹³³ *ibid.*, xxii. See also footnote 109. D'Estouteville was in contention for the papacy in 1458, being at one stage only one vote short of election. For an account of the conclave see *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: the Commentaries of Pius II*, translated by Florence A Gragg, ed Leona C Gabel (London, 1960), 79-88; Cecilia M Ady, *Pius II (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini) the Humanist Pope* (London, 1913), 142-52; R J Mitchell, *The Laurels and the Tiara - Pope Pius II 1458-1464* (London, 1962), 120-9. For d'Estouteville's earlier activities as papal legate to Charles VII of France, see M G A Vale, *Charles VII* (London, 1974), 62-6, 168.

¹³⁴ John Blackadder, Nicholas Savart, Patrick Hume, Thomas Vaus, Nicholas Forman, Dennis Auchinleck, Andrew Young, and William Marshall

¹³⁵ Supp. Nos. 650, 660

¹³⁶ Annie I Cameron, *op. cit.*, xxii. For a summary of the role of a Cardinal Protector see William E Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protectors of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1974), 6-7

¹³⁷ Supp. Nos. 116, 380. This connection between d'Estouteville and Hume is not noted in R B Dobson, *op. cit.* Hume is described as a familiar of the cardinal of Rouen in Supp. No. 1450

and the public instrument (dated 10 July 1472) detailing the terms was drawn up in the 'cardinal's lodging at Rome . . . in the presence of the said Patrick, bishop of St Andrews, and three other (foreign) witnesses (named).'¹³⁸

The cardinal of Rouen was responsible for reforms in Paris University in 1452,¹³⁹ and two of the Scots for whom he supplicated had been students there. Dennis Auchinleck (*Dionysius Auchinleck*) was elected Scottish procurator of the Faculty of Arts on 21 October 1469 and Robert Blackadder had been elected to the same office on 14 January 1467.¹⁴⁰ The cardinal supplicated twice on behalf of Dennis Auchinleck on 11 August 1479, firstly for provision to the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan in Moray and secondly for provision to the parish church of Dunnottar in St Andrews diocese, both of which were vacant following the death of Alexander Rait.¹⁴¹ Unfortunately Auchinleck died at the apostolic see before letters were drawn up.¹⁴² Although Robert Blackadder is not described in supplications as a familiar of the cardinal, on 10 August 1473 the cardinal supplicated for his provision to the parish church of Minto in Glasgow diocese which was vacant due to the death of John Blackadder who had been a continual commensal familiar of the cardinal.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ CPR, XIII, 15

¹³⁹ Leslie J Macfarlane, *op. cit.*, 31, 374; R Aubenas and R Ricard, *L'Église et la Renaissance (1449-1517)*, Histoire de l'Église XV (Paris, 1951), 26

¹⁴⁰ Annie I Cameron, 'Scottish Students at Paris University, 1466-1492', *Juridical Review* XLVIII (1936), 254

¹⁴¹ Supp. Nos. 692, 692.1

¹⁴² Supp. Nos. 702, 703, 779, 1022

¹⁴³ Supp. No. 149

Another cardinal with educational concerns who retained a Scottish familiar was Stefano Nardini, cardinal of Milan.¹⁴⁴ Nardini, a prelate who had been created cardinal 'in order to encourage the members of the Court to emulate his zeal and industry', was the founder of a college for poor students.¹⁴⁵ One of his continual commensal familiars, Thomas Ruch, a canon of the priory of St Andrews was supplicating in September 1475 to be appointed prior in place of William Cameron.¹⁴⁶ Earlier in the same year Ruch had also supplicated to be provided to the priory of May or Pittenweem.¹⁴⁷

In discussing the issue of patronage Lowe describes a reciprocal relationship in which a cardinal with access to the pope and foreign rulers could act on behalf of a client and patron in the acquiring of a bishopric, and that the latter could then support him at a later stage in acquiring a benefice either for himself or another client.¹⁴⁸ Such a relationship is perhaps evidenced in the case of Francesco Gonzaga and his client John *de Eloys* (or *de Eloysiis*).¹⁴⁹ In August 1478 Gonzaga, cardinal deacon of Santa Maria Nuova, bishop of Bologna, supplicated on behalf of his continual commensal familiar for provision to the vicarage of Kirkbean in the diocese of Glasgow and to the canonry and prebend of Hoy in Caithness [*sic*]

¹⁴⁴ Stefano Nardini, archbishop of Milan was raised to the cardinalate on 7 May 1473. He died on 22 October 1484; C Eubel, *op. cit.*, 17

¹⁴⁵ L Pastor, *op. cit.*, 410. Nardini 'had been Rector Citramontanarum and Reader in the Codex at Bologna in 1444-5', Peter Partner, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1990), 85. For further details of Nardini's career, see *ibid.*, 68

¹⁴⁶ Supp. No. 276

¹⁴⁷ Supp. No. 248

¹⁴⁸ K J P Lowe, *op. cit.*, 149

¹⁴⁹ Francesco Gonzaga was promoted to the cardinalate on 18 December 1461; C Eubel, *op. cit.*, 14

diocese.¹⁵⁰ In January 1472 Gonzaga had supplicated on his own behalf to be granted commendatorship of the monastery of Arbroath for life.¹⁵¹ Gonzaga was probably relying on his connections with the Scottish queen to help secure these provisions. Queen Margaret of Scotland was a cousin of the cardinal to whom he sent a gold reliquary containing a piece of the Cross in 1471.¹⁵²

Individual clerics appear as the recipients of the patronage of more than one cardinal. This is particularly the case with William Marshall and Andrew Young, who were also papal familiars. In January 1473 Marshall was a continual commensal familiar of Pietro Riario, cardinal of San Sisto,¹⁵³ and it is likely that on the death of the cardinal in February 1474 he became a familiar of Giuliano della Rovere, nephew of Pope Sixtus and cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli, whose continual commensal familiar he was by September 1475.¹⁵⁴ It was the case that 'when one cardinal died,

¹⁵⁰ Supp. No. 605. The supplication gives Caithness (*Catanen*) as the diocese but there was not a prebend called Hoy there. There was a prebend of Moy in Moray diocese, and Hoy in Orkney in the sixteenth century; I B Cowan, 'The Organisation of Scottish Secular Cathedral Chapters', *RSCHS* XIV (1960), 42-4, 46. See page 218, footnote 176 in Benefices chapter below. In a supplication four years later (Supp. No. 867) *de Eloysiis* was stated to be resigning the vicarage and to have been a continual commensal familiar of the cardinal. A John *Aloysius Siccus* (*Johanni Aloysio Sicco*) appears in the will of the cardinal, listed amongst his continual commensal familiars - the will is dated 20 October 1483, the day before the cardinal's death - and also in the post-mortem inventory; see D S Chambers, *op. cit.*, 136, 164

¹⁵¹ Supp. No. 35

¹⁵² D S Chambers, *op. cit.*, 84. Dorothea, Queen of Denmark was the sister of Francesco's mother and he took her to see his titular church of Santa Maria Nuova in 1475 when she was in Rome for the Jubilee celebrations; *ibid.*, 8

¹⁵³ Supp. No. 96. Pietro Riario, then archbishop of Florence and patriarch of Constantinople, was elevated to the cardinalate in the first promotion of the pontificate on 15 December 1471; C Eubel, *op. cit.*, 16

¹⁵⁴ Supp. No. 279. Marshall is also stated as having been a continual commensal familiar of d'Estouteville, see Supp. No. 929. Giuliano della Rovere was elevated to the cardinalate on 15 December 1471. He became bishop of Sabina in April 1479 and was translated to the bishopric of Ostia in January 1483. In 1503 he

his household was normally absorbed by other cardinals and curia officials',¹⁵⁵ and an example of this is that of Domizio Calderini, familiar and secretary of the Greek cardinal Bessarion, who entered the household of Giuliano della Rovere after the death of his patron in November 1472.¹⁵⁶ Bessarion had been commendator of Santi Apostoli and after his death Pietro Riario inherited his house at Santi Apostoli and converted it into a palace. This was then taken over by Giuliano della Rovere after the death of Riario.¹⁵⁷

Andrew Young had an impressive list of patrons. In April 1472 he was a continual commensal familiar of Rodrigo Borgia, cardinal bishop of Albano and papal vice-chancellor.¹⁵⁸ By 1476 he was a continual commensal familiar of Girolamo Riario, count of Imola, and also a papal familiar.¹⁵⁹ Guillaume d'Estouteville, cardinal of Rouen, supplicated on behalf of Young, whom he described as his continual commensal familiar, on 23 September 1479 concerning provision to the parish church of Dunnottar in St Andrews.¹⁶⁰ However, a month later Young is

was elected to the papacy as Pope Julius II; C Eubel, *op. cit.*, 17, 70

¹⁵⁵ K J P Lowe, *op. cit.*, 242

¹⁵⁶ Calderini was Professor of Greek in 1470 and of Rhetoric in 1474 at the University of Rome, see Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome, 1978), 179-82; Cf. Peter Partner, *op. cit.*, 158 where Domizio Calderini is stated to have been a follower of Cardinal Pietro Riario.

¹⁵⁷ See Nicholas Clark, *op. cit.*, 63-4; Egmont Lee, *op. cit.*, 144

¹⁵⁸ Supp. Nos. 49, 54. Rodrigo Borgia had been promoted to the cardinalate on 17 September 1456 and became bishop of Albano on 30 August 1471. He became bishop of Porto on 24 July 1476 and was later to be elected as Pope Alexander VI (in 1492); C Eubel, *op. cit.*, 12

¹⁵⁹ Supp. Nos. 391, 403. See also CPR, XIII, 55 note; *Hieronimi vicecomitis de Riano pro nobis et Romana ecclesia in civitate nostra Imole vicarii generalis familiaris continuus commensalis*. It is likely that the reading should be 'Riario' for *Riano*. Girolamo Riario was the brother of Pietro Riario and a nephew of the pope. See above, pages 12, 15

¹⁶⁰ Supp. No. 703

described as a continual commensal familiar of Raffaele Sansoni Riario, cardinal deacon of San Giorgio and a papal nephew.¹⁶¹ He seems likely to have remained with this final patron until his own death some time between 22 June 1483 and 10 October 1483.¹⁶² At some time around 1480-1 Young also appears to have been a familiar of Giuliano della Rovere, cardinal of San Pietro in Vincoli.¹⁶³

Despite having such illustrious patrons, the benefits to Andrew Young in terms of benefices were slight. As with Alexander Rait and Thomas Vaus, Young resigned a number of benefices to which he had received papal provision. For example, he resigned the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan in Moray before letters had expedited.¹⁶⁴ Likewise the chancellorship of Aberdeen, the perpetual vicarage of Aberchirder in Moray diocese, and the perpetual vicarage of Arbirlot in St Andrews diocese were resigned by Young following papal provisions.¹⁶⁵ As a result of two of these resignations, Young was to receive pensions from the future holder. After he had resigned the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan, Robert *Dalequhy* (or *Daloquhy*) supplicated on 18 August 1481 for provision, agreeing to pay Young an annual pension of 15 merks Scots, around £3 sterling, from the fruits of the benefice.¹⁶⁶ A pension of 10 merks Scots was the outcome of the resignation of the

¹⁶¹ Supp. No. 710. Raffaele Sansoni Riario became cardinal deacon of San Giorgio (St Georgius ad velum aureum) on 10 December 1477; C Eubel, *op. cit.*, 19

¹⁶² Supp. Nos. 928, 952

¹⁶³ Supp. Nos. 770, 771, 772

¹⁶⁴ Supp. Nos. 779

¹⁶⁵ Supp. Nos. 833 (chancellorship of Aberdeen); 836 (vicarage of Aberchirder); 837 (vicarage of Arbirlot). For problems with the identification of the latter see footnote 37

¹⁶⁶ Supp. No. 779. At that time William *Vad* was detaining the benefice on the pretext of ordinary collation, but by June 1483 *Dalequhy* was in possession and the pension was supplicated for again, see Supp. Nos. 925, 928

perpetual vicarage of Arbirlot.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, litigation was also a feature as evidenced by Young's dispute in 1481 over the perpetual vicarage of Mearns in Glasgow diocese.¹⁶⁸

Benefices of cardinal familiars automatically reverted to papal provision following the deaths of the holders. Additionally when a benefice holder died at the Roman court or within two days' journey of it, that benefice became subject to papal provision.¹⁶⁹ For these reasons strings of provisions to familiars of cardinals can be traced in the history of a particular benefice. The best example from the Scottish supplications concerns the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan. Rait, a papal familiar, was succeeded by Auchinleck, a familiar of the cardinal of Rouen. On Auchinleck's death John Wood was provided on 23 September 1479 following a supplication from the cardinal of Rouen on his behalf, but like his predecessor he also died at the apostolic see before letters had been drawn up. Subsequently Andrew Young, at that time a familiar of the cardinal deacon of San Giorgio, was provided on 11 July 1480 but resigned this grant before letters had been drawn up.¹⁷⁰ Similarly, after the death of Patrick Hume, a papal protonotary and one time familiar of the cardinal of Rouen, d'Estouteville supplicated that his continual commensal familiar, Nicholas Forman, be provided to the archdeaconry of Teviotdale in

¹⁶⁷ Supp. No. 861

¹⁶⁸ See Supp. Nos. 770, 771, 772

¹⁶⁹ *The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488*, ed A I Cameron (Oxford, 1934), xv note 2. For a discussion of the system of papal reservations see A D M Barrell, *op. cit.*, 91-8. See also Leslie J Macfarlane, *op. cit.*, 212; Barbara McClung Hallman, *op. cit.*, 103

¹⁷⁰ Supp. No. 1022 provides a summary of the sequence of provisions. See also Supp. Nos. 692, 702, 744

Glasgow diocese (which had been held by Hume), be created a canon, and be dispensed to hold three incompatible benefices.¹⁷¹

Cardinals did not always restrict their patronage to those who were their familiars as evidenced by d'Estouteville's support for John Wood and Robert Blackadder.

Similarly in July 1473 Alan, (cardinal) bishop of Sabina, supplicated that James Moneypenny, a scholar from St Andrews diocese, be dispensed to be promoted to holy orders and to hold two incompatible benefices despite his defects of birth and age.¹⁷² A further example is that of George Brown whose provision to the canonry and prebend of Kirknewton in the collegiate church of St Giles, St Andrews diocese, Raffaele Sansoni Riario supplicated for on 10 October 1483.¹⁷³ George Brown (provided to the bishopric of Dunkeld in October 1483) was later to be associated with Rodrigo Borgia, papal vice-chancellor and from 1492, Pope Alexander VI.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Supp. No. 621. The three incompatibles are named as the archdeaconry, the vicarage of Cadder and *Restonat*, although the dispensation could apply to another three without them. In September 1472 Hume had resigned the archdeaconry in favour of John Lichon and in return for a pension of a third of the fruits; Supp. No. 68. However, on 5 October 1473 Hume was ready to consent to pay a pension to Pietro Antonio de Nardis from the fruits of the archdeaconry which he claimed to hold; Supp. No. 155. See page 206, footnote 128 below.

¹⁷² Supp. No. 140. The bishop of Sabina was Alanus de Coetivy who, as bishop of Avignon, had been raised to the cardinalate on 16 February 1448. He had gained Sabina in December 1472 which he held until his death on 3 May 1474; C Eubel, *op. cit.*, 11, 70

¹⁷³ Supp. No. 952

¹⁷⁴ John Dowden, *op. cit.*, 80; D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 98-9

Papal officials and honorific positions

Apart from papal and cardinal familiars, a number of Scots can be extracted from the supplications by virtue of their holding of a papal office or honorific position. Three Scots can be directly associated with positions in the apostolic Camera. By 1471 Patrick Young, already identified as a papal familiar, was a former collector of the apostolic Camera for the kingdom of Scotland.¹⁷⁵ Richard Wylie, who was involved in the priory of Coldingham dispute, had also been a collector of the Camera.¹⁷⁶ In addition, John Barry, who appears several times in the supplications, was appointed 'nuncio of the apostolic see and collector-general of fruits etc. due to the pope and the Roman church and the papal Camera in the realm of Scotland . . .' on 25 January 1484.¹⁷⁷ The duties of collectors were wide-ranging, extending beyond the levying of certain taxes due to the papal Camera.¹⁷⁸ Writing of the fourteenth century, Barrell states that the 'Scottish collectors benefited greatly from papal favour' and that the 'clerks involved as subcollectors were all of high ecclesiastical rank, men with cathedral benefices . . .'.¹⁷⁹ A similar picture seems to apply for the latter part of the fifteenth century. For example, Patrick Young had held the deanery of Dunkeld, the precentorship of Dunkeld, the archdeaconry of Galloway, and the provostry of

¹⁷⁵ Supp. No. 16. Cf. Supp. Nos. 180, 181, 189, 191.1, 217 in which the deceased Patrick Young is said to have been a collector or subcollector.

¹⁷⁶ Supp. No. 380

¹⁷⁷ CPR, XIII, 6

¹⁷⁸ For the duties of papal collectors, see Margaret Harvey, *England, Rome and the Papacy 1417-1464: the study of a relationship* (Manchester and New York, 1993), 74-5; A D M Barrell, *op. cit.*, 65-6

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*, 67, 73

the collegiate church of Methven in the course of his career, as well as being a papal familiar and acolyte of the pope.¹⁸⁰

An interesting situation occurred regarding the appointment of a minor penitentiary for England, Scotland and Ireland in the Basilica of the Chief of the Apostles in Rome.¹⁸¹ On 16 March 1471 Alexander Ruch, abbot of Cambuskenneth, received a *motu proprio* provision from Pope Paul II to the post following the death of Thomas Pue at the apostolic see. However, on 22 February 1475 Edward, king of England, on behalf of Richard Warburton, supplicated that Richard should be provided in place of Ruch on the basis that, since Pope Eugenius IV had made statutes stipulating that one of the eleven minor penitentiaries should be English and should hear the confessions of the Scots and Irish in addition to those of the English, Pope Paul II's provision of Ruch, a Scot, had been invalid.¹⁸²

A small group of Scots were protonotaries or notaries of the apostolic see in the period. A protonotary was 'a chancery official with the right to draft provisions

¹⁸⁰ For supplications mentioning Patrick Young (who died before 18 May 1474), see Supp. Nos. 16, 180, 181, 184, 189, 191.1, 217, 294, 294.1, 440, 566, 707. See also, D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 105, 108, 137, 368. This Patrick Young is not to be confused with the Patrick Young, precentor of Dunkeld, in Supp. Nos. 320, 331.

¹⁸¹ Minor penitentiaries saw individual penitents or their procurators in person. For information about the Penitentiary and a discussion of types of cases dealt therein, see Margaret Harvey, *op. cit.*, 32, 101-14; Janet P Foggie, 'Archivum Sacrae Paenitentiariae Apostolicae in the Vatican Archives as a source for Scottish historians', *IR XLVII* (1996), 110-26

¹⁸² Supp. Nos., 1507, 220. Alexander Ruch had either been provided to the abbacy of Cambuskenneth by the ordinary by virtue of an apostolic indult or had been elected by the convent, with the election being confirmed by the ordinary. However, he was despoiled and at this time was in the process of prosecuting his case. The matter of Warburton's appointment was entrusted to the Penitentiary: the latter supplication has the result clause *Fiat quod committatur Penitentiario*.

made in the consistory.¹⁸³ The office, though, could also be honorary and was 'much sought after because of its dignity and because of the exemption from the jurisdiction of the ordinaries which went with it'.¹⁸⁴ Patrick Hume, a cardinal familiar, was a protonotary of the apostolic see as was Alexander Rait, a papal familiar.¹⁸⁵ Robert Blackadder, the future bishop-elect of Aberdeen and bishop of Glasgow who had received privileges of papal familiars, was appointed a protonotary by virtue of a *motu proprio* provision on 6 March 1476.¹⁸⁶ It was quite common for a royal procurator like Blackadder to be a protonotary as evidenced by English examples in the earlier part of the century.¹⁸⁷ Blackadder's predecessor in the episcopal see of Aberdeen, Thomas Spens, had also been a protonotary prior to obtaining the bishopric of Galloway.¹⁸⁸ The remaining member of the group is Alexander Lumsden whose appointment as a protonotary predated February 1472.¹⁸⁹

What would appear to be an honorary position, that of acolyte of the pope, was, or had already been, gained by several Scots in the period. Papal acolytes enjoyed certain privileges and immunities, although it is not clear what these were from the

¹⁸³ Margaret Harvey, *op. cit.*, 26. Their number appears to have been restricted to seven until the pontificate of Sixtus V; R Naz, 'Protonotaires Apostoliques', in R Naz, *op. cit.*, VII, cols 389-90

¹⁸⁴ Peter Partner, *op. cit.*, 22

¹⁸⁵ For supplications in which they are described as protonotaries or papal notaries, see Supp. Nos: 1450, 21, 68, 78, 111, 116, 123, 146, 155, 158, 254, 256, 380, 594, 621, 622, 623, 650, 804 (Patrick Hume); 689, 702, 757, 779 (Alexander Rait)

¹⁸⁶ Supp. No. 333. For other supplications in which he is described as a protonotary or papal notary, see Supp. Nos. 374, 408, 411, 515, 534, 563, 570, 572, 581, 589, 693, 751, 801

¹⁸⁷ Margaret Harvey, *op. cit.*, 29

¹⁸⁸ Supp. No. 647; John Dowden, *op. cit.*, 125 and note 2

¹⁸⁹ Supp. No. 42. For the earlier career of Alexander Lumsden, see also footnote

text of the supplications.¹⁹⁰ It is likely that the papal familiars Alexander Rait and Patrick Young along with the cardinal familiar Thomas Vaus became acolytes as a result of their associations with those at the highest levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Alexander Lumsden, rector of Flisk in St Andrews diocese in December 1477, was also an acolyte of the apostolic see in addition to being a protonotary. Eleven other acolytes of the pope, two of whom were abbots and three were priors, feature in the Scottish supplications (although in some cases their deaths predated the 1470-84 period).¹⁹¹ One of the eleven was William Scheves, the future archbishop of St Andrews, on whose behalf King James III supplicated that he be received as a papal acolyte on 7 June 1474. In that supplication the same request was also made on behalf of John Woodman, prior of May or Pittenweem.¹⁹²

Other foreign ecclesiastical patronage

Evidence can be found in the supplications of direct foreign ecclesiastical patronage at a slightly lower level than that of the pope and cardinals. On 1 January 1472 Andrew, bishop of Warmia and orator of the king of Poland, supplicated on behalf of

¹⁹⁰ See, for example, Supp. Nos. 194, 439, 756

¹⁹¹ For supplications mentioning acolytes of the pope, see Supp. Nos. 258, 702, 707, 757, 779 (Alexander Rait); 181, 440, 566, 707 (Patrick Young); 557, 733, 734, 735, 740, 805, 808, 852, 855 (Thomas Vaus); 531, 604 (Alexander Lumsden); 535 (Walter [*de Var*], abbot of Dryburgh); 983 (William *de Wylies*, abbot of Tongland); 439, 921, 923, 1001 (William Cameron, prior of St Andrews); 965 (William Douglas, prior of Whithorn); 174, 175, 177, 177.1, 689, 757 (Walter Stewart); 646, 647 (Gilbert Forrester); 756, 799, 801 (Andrew or Didacus Lyle); 194 (William Scheves and John Woodman, prior of May or Pittenweem); 433 (Alexander Sutherland); 889 (James Lindsay). Pietro Antonio de Nardis, an acolyte of the apostolic see, was granted a pension from the archdeaconry of Teviotdale, see Supp. No. 155 and footnote 171 above.

¹⁹² Supp. No. 194

consanguineis ac caris et familiaribus suis. Among the list of names to receive two canonries with reservations of prebends and one or two benefices, is Alexander Abercrombie, a clerk from St Andrews diocese.¹⁹³ A further example is found in 1479 when David Henryson, a continual commensal familiar of John, bishop of Castres, was provided *motu proprio* to the priory of Inchmahome. The priory was to be held as a commend for three months in which time Henryson was to take the regular habit and make his profession in the Order of St Augustine. A third part of the fruits was reserved as a pension to the bishop of Castres.¹⁹⁴

Procurators

- 'Cardinals relied on their acknowledged access to the pope in order to attract clients to their entourage, and the upper echelons of this clientele, in their turn, relied on this aspect of their patron's reputation to bring clients at a lower level into their own patronage networks.'¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Supp. No. 25.2. On Annie I Dunlop's slip no mention is made of the involvement of the bishop. The identification of the bishop is a problem as an Andrew does not appear in the list of bishops of Warmia (Ermland) in Prussia given by Conrad Eubel. Eubel lists Paulus de Legindorf who succeeded Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini in October 1458 on the latter's assumption of the papacy and then Nicolaus Tonge (Tungen), an apostolic scriptor, as Legindorf's successor in November 1468. Tonge remained bishop until his death in 1489. See C Eubel, *op. cit.*, 288. Legindorf had deserted to the Poles in 1464; see Denys Hay, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1966), 238

¹⁹⁴ Supp. No. 719. The result clause states *Concessum ut petitur cum pensione tertia partis pro Johanne Episcopo Castren'*. The bishop of Castres (1460-93) was John de Armanhaco; C Eubel, *op. cit.*, 134

¹⁹⁵ K J P Lowe, *op. cit.*, 158

As has been seen Alexander Rait, a familiar of the pope, acted several times in the *curia* as a procurator on behalf of both clergy and laity. Unfortunately, very little information can be gleaned from the supplications about use of procurators in a strictly ecclesiastical sense.¹⁹⁶ One supplication, however, dated 22 May 1472, concerns ratification of a pension to be paid to John Edwardson on account of his services as procurator and *syndic* of the prior and convent of Coldingham.¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, Andrew, bishop of Orkney mentions in a supplication his use of a procurator, at the time of his promotion, to gain absolution from the pope concerning his earlier practising of medicine. However, the procurator is not named.¹⁹⁸

Evidence relating to the use of procurators can be found from other sources including Cameral records and papal letters. It is beyond the scope of the present study to conduct a detailed examination of such sources. Nevertheless, a few examples from papal letters can be cited. John Ruch, perpetual vicar of Rayne in Aberdeen resigned a grant (which had been made on 6 June 1472) to the perpetual vicarage of Tibbermore in Dunkeld diocese by his procurator, Bernard de Assentio, a clerk from Segorbe.¹⁹⁹ David Henryson, prior of Inchmahome used at least two different procurators: in 1480 Robert *Seriton*, a clerk from the diocese of York acted on his behalf and in 1481 Giles Boyce, precentor of Moray, fulfilled the role.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ Ambassadors and orators of the king will be considered in a later section.

¹⁹⁷ Supp. No. 64. The prior concerned was John Hume. It is possible, but not conclusive, that this was the same John Edwardson who was granted privileges of papal familiars and had connections with the king.

¹⁹⁸ Supp. No. 641

¹⁹⁹ CPR, XIII, 25. There is no corresponding supplication concerning provision to the vicarage, but for Ruch's resignation, see Supp. No. 143. According to supplications Ruch was present in the *curia* on 31 May 1471 and on 22 December 1472; Supp. Nos. 1520, 95

²⁰⁰ CPR, XIII, 84, 108. See also Supp. Nos. 724, 797

Boyce was of course a cardinal familiar and like Alexander Rait was in a good position to aid the transaction of business for clients. Another cardinal familiar who appears as a procurator was William Marshall who represented his namesake, a priest from the diocese of Glasgow, in a dispute concerning the perpetual vicarage of Galston in the same diocese. Interestingly Alexander Rait was procurator for Walter Douglas who was one of the other contenders for the benefice.²⁰¹

* * *

In light of the above discussion it is clear that any analysis of Scottish links with the papacy, concerning routine business in particular, must take into account the role of familiars of the pope and of cardinals. A number of questions still remain unanswered nevertheless. The most obvious avenues to explore are the proportion of familiars in the *curia* which the Scottish familiars represented and methods of recruitment. How did Scottish clerics become familiars? Were links established through attendance at the papal *curia* or were the connections made elsewhere, perhaps through universities? The role that familiars played as procurators is worthy of further investigation. Which clients did each of them act for and were these clients from a particular diocese or dioceses?

In a similar way that connections with the pope and cardinals could result in the gaining of privileges and material rewards for members of the entourages concerned, connections with members of royalty and the nobility also seem to have been

²⁰¹ CPR, XIII, 346-7. See also Supp. No. 113

regarded as worth acquiring or advertising. Patronage could work in several ways. The royal or noble patron could either supplicate on behalf of the client or the client could mention his connections with the patron in supplications to aid him (or her) in the acquiring of what was desired. Narrative sections of supplications also reveal ways in which patronage worked in Scotland itself. However, the king and members of the nobility did not always supplicate merely on behalf of the interests of their clients and kinsmen. Political and economic factors no doubt played a part at times, as presumably did matters of prestige.

Royal representation in the *curia*

In the Scottish supplications for Sixtus' pontificate there are nine Scots upon whom the king had bestowed representational responsibilities. These were: Henry Boyce, Duncan Bully, Duncan Bunch, William Ross, Thomas Ramsay, Robert Bellenden, Archibald Whitelaw, John Edwardson, and Robert Blackadder.²⁰² The terminology used in their descriptions varies: the terms 'ambassador', 'orator', 'nuncius', and 'procurator' can be found. According to Queller, whose work concerns the secular sphere (although at times it impinges upon the ecclesiastical domain), the first three terms are interchangeable in this period with *nuncius* being a generic term.²⁰³ The

²⁰² For supplications in which they are described as representatives of the king, see Supp. Nos. 166 (Henry Boyce); 191, 196 (Duncan Bully); 192, 196 (Duncan Bunch); 196 (William Ross); 277 (Thomas Ramsay); 1009 (Robert Bellenden); 747 (Archibald Whitelaw); 283 (John Edwardson); 180, 197, 208, 333, 373, 374, 408, 411, 515, 519, 534, 563, 570, 581, 589 (Robert Blackadder). From the supplications analysed a tenth Scot, Fergus Macdowell can be added, but he was already dead by November 1470; Supp. No. 1458

²⁰³ Donald E Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1967). In Chapters 1-3 Queller discusses the *nuncius*, the *procurator* and the ambassador in turn and provides numerous examples from documentary evidence

real distinction is between terms, such as these, which denote messengers who represented the principal, including in a ceremonial capacity, and delivered a particular message or gathered information but could only act with the consent of the principal, and the term *procurator* (with associated terms such as *syndic*, *actor*, and *defensor*), denoting a representative who had powers to act on his own initiative.²⁰⁴

On the whole it is usually one of the first three terms which are used in the supplications but there are a few examples of the use of the term 'procurator' in relation to representatives of the king. Archibald Whitelaw, royal secretary from 1462 to 1493, is denoted as 'procurator of James, king of Scots' in 1480 whilst Fergus Macdowell, before his death in the Holy Land during the pontificate of Paul II, had been 'procurator of the pope and the apostolic see and of the king of

regarding the use of terminology. See, for example, 5, 25, 63, 65. However, 'special meaning did apply to *legatus* and *nuncius* as used by the papal chancery' and papal envoys were graded; *ibid.*, 65-6. See also, J A F Thomson, *Popes and Princes 1417-1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London, 1980), 103

²⁰⁴ Donald E Queller, *op. cit.*, 25: 'The *nuncius* was only an organ of communication, a living letter, who could either negotiate and report or conclude, but could not negotiate and conclude at least not without an intervening reference to the principal and approval by him. Ceremonially, however, the *nuncius* fully represented the person of his principal, and what was done through a *nuncius* was conceived as done directly by the principal.'; *ibid.*, 41: 'The procurator customarily and characteristically spoke and acted upon the basis of his own will, and was by no means a speaking letter . . . Most of the evidence, again, suggests that through the acts of the procurator the principal was placed in direct legal relationships with third parties . . . The contrast between procuratorial and nunciatorial representation is fairly clear. The *nuncius* was a more absolute and personal representative, suitable where the immediate and direct role of the principal was to be emphasized, as on ceremonial occasions in diplomacy. The procurator was a more free and flexible representative, more useful in negotiations.'; Cf. J A F Thomson, *op. cit.*, 102: 'Basically the proctor [*Scottice* procurator] was concerned with ecclesiastical business, such as obtaining provisions to benefices, but the line between this and diplomatic questions was often narrow and he might well find the range of his duties extended. He ranked lower than an ambassador, but could perform many of the same duties.'

Scotland'.²⁰⁵ In some cases a combination of terms is evident. One example is that of Robert Blackadder who is described once as 'orator and procurator of James, king of Scots'.²⁰⁶

Although the supplications reveal the names of key personnel figures in the diplomatic arena, the source on its own cannot illuminate the subject of relations between the king and Pope Sixtus. Only once is there an explanation given for a particular mission to the pope: at the beginning of 1474 Henry Boyce was sent by the king to the pope 'to prosecute the promotion of John [Laing] to the church of Glasgow'.²⁰⁷ For the most part then it is not clear from internal evidence in the supplications why a particular cleric had been despatched to the *curia*. The lack of such evidence is not supplemented by secondary sources concerning James III and his relations with the papacy. This is probably due to the concentration on major events such as barratry legislation, disputes over appointments to prelacies, and the elevation of the bishopric of St Andrews to archiepiscopal status rather than detailed analysis of diplomatic missions and personnel *per se*.²⁰⁸ For example, of the nine Scots named above, only three (Whitelaw, Royal Secretary; Bellenden, abbot of

²⁰⁵ Supp. Nos. 747, 1458. For the career of Whitelaw, see N A T Macdougall, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982), 53, 213; R J Lyall, 'Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the fifteenth century', *IR XXXVI* (1985), 60-1; John MacQueen, 'National Spirit and Native Culture', in *The Scottish Nation*, ed G Menzies (London, 1972), 61-2. (Presumably the same) Fergus Macdowell had been appointed Clerk Register in 1462 as successor to Whitelaw when he had become Royal Secretary; Roderick Lyall, 'The Court as a Cultural Centre', in *Scotland Revisited*, ed J Wormald (London, 1991), 42

²⁰⁶ Supp. No. 180

²⁰⁷ Supp. No. 166

²⁰⁸ See, for example, R K Hannay, 'The Scottish Crown and the Papacy, 1424-1560', *Historical Association Pamphlet* no. 6 (1931); D E R Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 115-32

Holyrood; and Blackadder, from 1483 bishop and then archbishop of Glasgow) appear in Macdougall's biography of the king.²⁰⁹ Since this work is by definition 'a political study', should it be assumed that the other six clerics who represented the king at the court of Sixtus IV were there on routine ecclesiastical business and were not figures of especial importance, politically at least, in royal circles? On the contrary, it could be argued that any cleric of ambassadorial status in the *curia* had a crucial role to play in representing the interests of his absent patron and that part of that role was to enhance the prestige and international standing of the patron in question. In addition their importance is reflected by the fact that there was strict protocol for the reception of ambassadors at Rome and it is likely that special arrangements were made for their accommodation.²¹⁰

With the exception of the missions of Bellenden, Whitelaw and Blackadder, the bulk of the diplomatic business (mentioned in the supplications) appears to have been concentrated around the years 1474 and 1475.²¹¹ The purpose of Henry Boyce's journey to Rome has already been stated. It is likely that Boyce was the same cleric

²⁰⁹ N A T Macdougall, *op. cit.*

²¹⁰ Leslie J Macfarlane, 'Precedence and Protest at the Roman Curia, 1486-1493', *Renaissance Studies* II (1988), 222-30. Macfarlane raises the 'possibility that senior officials at the Curia regularly offered hospitality to any royal orators and important visitors lacking a national hospice, as a steady means of supplementing their own income.', *ibid.*, 224; Leslie J Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514*, quincentenary edition (Aberdeen, 1995), 292; J A F Thomson, 'Innocent VIII and the Scottish Church', *IR* XIX (1968), 26

²¹¹ As has been mentioned, Whitelaw appears as procurator of the king in a supplication from 1480. Bellenden, abbot of Holyrood, is described as an orator of the king in April 1484; Supp. No. 1009. In October of the following year he was one of the Scottish ambassadors who attended the coronation of Henry VII, king of England and in 1486 was involved in negotiations concerning a truce between the Scottish and English kings; N A T Macdougall, *op. cit.*, 217. For a brief discussion of Blackadder's diplomatic activity, see below page 128

on whose behalf the king had supplicated the previous year and as a result of which was granted privileges of papal familiars in the assecution of benefices.²¹² It is possible too that he was related to Giles Boyce, a familiar of the cardinal Raffaele Riario.²¹³ What is certain, though, is that Henry Boyce took advantage of his mission in 1474 to supplicate for his own provision to the perpetual vicarage of Linlithgow which was held by John Laing and would become vacant as a result of the latter's promotion to the bishopric of Glasgow.²¹⁴

It would appear that Duncan Bully, Duncan Bunch and William Ross were all sent to the papal court at around the same time, probably collectively in the one mission. The supplications in which they are described as ambassadors or orators are confined to the months of May and June 1474. The purpose of the mission is not stated but in June 1474 the three representatives conjointly supplicated that they be permitted to be exempt from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of St Andrews and taken under the protection of the pope and the apostolic see since Bunch feared that 'in their absence, he and his fellow ambassadors may suffer by the orders of Patrick, archbishop of St Andrews, his metropolitan to the detriment of ecclesiastical liberties'.²¹⁵ A couple of suggestions can be forwarded as to the reason for the wider mission. Firstly, the mission may relate to the future of the archbishop, Patrick Graham, who, at the beginning of the year, had suffered the loss of his diocesan temporalities, probably as the outcome of deliberations of a General Council, and was also a possible source

²¹² Supp. No. 121

²¹³ See above, pages 79-83, 96-9

²¹⁴ Supp. No. 166

²¹⁵ Supp. No. 196

of embarrassment to the king.²¹⁶ If this was the purpose of the mission this would certainly explain the personal concerns of the ambassadors and the fear of reprisals expressed in their supplication. An alternative suggestion may concern arrangements for the king's proposed pilgrimage to Rome which he had intimated to the French king in the spring of 1474.²¹⁷

In educational circles Duncan Bunch held a prominent position. He had risen to become first Principal Regent in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Glasgow having previously studied at the University of Cologne where he had gained his Mastership in Arts in 1447.²¹⁸ One of Bunch's teachers at Cologne had been Archibald Whitelaw, and, discussing Bunch's career, John Durkan has attributed 'the approved material situation of Bunch in his latter years' as partly due to his connection with Whitelaw, the Royal Secretary.²¹⁹ A connection also exists, through the canonry and prebend of Renfrew in Glasgow diocese, between Bunch and Bully. In May 1471 Bunch had exchanged his canonry and prebend of Glasgow Secundo for the canonry and prebend of Renfrew which was held by Thomas Bully.²²⁰ The latter is likely to have been a relative of Duncan Bully who had previously been

²¹⁶ N A T Macdougall, *op. cit.*, 106. Further, Macdougall states that 'Some time between 3 and 13 April, 1474 a payment was made to Andrew Mowbray for 'the solisting of the Kingis materis in the Court of Rome' - presumably a justification of James's seizure of the temporalities of the See of St. Andrews and a supplication that Graham's bulls be rescinded.'; *ibid.*, 106-7. Mowbray does not appear in the supplications for the period, however. For Graham as a source of embarrassment, see D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 125-6

²¹⁷ N A T Macdougall, *op. cit.*, 114

²¹⁸ For details of Bunch's career, see John Durkan and James Kirk, *op. cit.*, 22, 71-2, 78-9, 111, 140; R J Lyall, *op. cit.*, 61-2

²¹⁹ John Durkan and James Kirk, *op. cit.*, 78. On the following page Durkan mentions the embassy to Rome and states that its motivation 'does not appear in the records'.

²²⁰ Supp. No. 1512

connected with the same benefice.²²¹ Although Bunch was to die shortly after the mission, Bully was to become archdeacon of Dunblane in 1480.²²²

Of William Ross there is no further mention in the supplications of the period. At the time of the mission he was vicar of Kilpatrick in Glasgow diocese. Similarly Thomas Ramsay, a *nuncius* to the pope in the following year, is a shadowy character in terms of the source. Ramsay's mission can be dated to around September 1475.

Again no reason is given for the wider mission but it is possible that it may have been connected with the promotion of James Livingstone to the bishopric of Dunkeld on 2 October 1475.²²³ Certainly at around the same date there are supplications from the king on behalf of William Scheves (the future archbishop of St Andrews) and John Edwardson concerning their provisions to benefices held by Livingstone which were due to fall vacant as a result of his promotion.²²⁴

Nevertheless, while he was in Rome, Ramsay, a priest from the diocese of St Andrews, took the opportunity to supplicate for provision to the perpetual vicarage of Irvine in Glasgow diocese.²²⁵ The provision was evidently successful as Ramsay

²²¹ *ibid.*; Duncan Bully had held the benefice for four months without taking up the fruits, Supp. Nos. 176, 176.1

²²² Bunch was dead by 19 December 1474; Supp. No. 213. For Bully's provision to the archdeaconry of Dunblane, see Supp. No. 757. See also D E R Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, Scottish Record Society, New Series I (Edinburgh, 1969), 90; Supp. No. 816

²²³ See D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 98; John Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), 77

²²⁴ On 2 October the king supplicated that Scheves be provided to the deanery of Dunkeld and on 6 October two supplications from the king request that Edwardson be provided to the rectory of Forteviot; Supp. Nos. 280, 283, 284. In the last supplication the benefice place name appears as *Fur* but Annie Dunlop recorded that part of the page in the original register is torn away and so it is probable that this supplication also concerns Forteviot.

²²⁵ Supp. No. 277

reappears in 1481 as the benefice holder.²²⁶ Whether or not Thomas Ramsay was any relation to John Ramsay, a familiar of the king who was created a lord of parliament as Lord Bothwell in either 1484 or 1485 and was 'one of James's most trusted ambassadors to England' in the 1480s, is not known but their ambassadorial roles hint at a connection.

One of the main problems in any analysis of diplomatic activity using the supplications as a source is that of determining the time-span involved. For example, in October 1475 it was declared in a supplication that John Edwardson 'has been at the Roman Court for a long time on the business of the king and is there at present'.²²⁷ Earlier, in 1472, Edwardson had stated that he 'has followed the Roman Court for many years and follows it at present' and is described as 'beloved of James, king of Scots'.²²⁸ It would appear to be the case that Edwardson was resident in Rome for lengthy periods but it is not clear when he became a royal representative. By December 1482 he was a chaplain of the king and queen and so would seem to have been in royal service from some time around 1472 until at least the end of 1482.²²⁹

What this would suggest is that a distinction should be made between two categories of diplomatic business and personnel. The first category is that of *ad hoc* embassies such as that of Bunch, Bully and Ross emanating in Scotland. The second category

²²⁶ Supp. No. 789. Ramsay was seeking to replace John Burell as the holder of the rectory of St Mary of Arran in the diocese of Sodor.

²²⁷ Supp. No. 283

²²⁸ Supp. No. 24

²²⁹ Supp. No. 866

is the use by the king of clerics resident in Rome and Edwardson, like Blackadder, seems to fall into this category.²³⁰ Whether they should be described as royal procurators or as part of a resident embassy is debatable. Certainly 'it was at Rome in the mid-fifteenth century that one first sees the establishment of resident embassies by various Italian powers, whose example was followed some time later by the ultramontane princes'.²³¹

Regardless of his representational status and duties in the *curia*, Edwardson supplicated on a number of occasions concerning provisions for himself to benefices mainly in the diocese of St Andrews. These included the vicarages of Inchbrayock, Fishwick, and St John of Perth, along with the provostry of the collegiate church of Dunglass.²³² The latter benefice poses an interesting question. The patron of this

²³⁰ Blackadder and Edwardson were both granted privileges of papal familiars in the assecution of benefices; Supp. Nos. 1427, 24. See also section on Scottish familiars of the pope above, pages 74, 79-83

²³¹ J A F Thomson, *op. cit.*, 102. Margaret Harvey states that by 1464 the office of royal procurator was becoming permanent and that 'resident royal *procuratores* can be distinguished from proctors [*Scottice* procurators] sent *ad hoc* and from ambassadors. The resident proctor received a *procuratorium*, defining his function, for which that given to John Catterick in May 1413 can serve as a model. His task was firstly to expedite the promotion of clerks to bishoprics, as the king will inform him from time to time, and secondly to expedite 'any other business of ours at the apostolic see, however it arises'.'; Margaret Harvey, *op. cit.*, 8. Cf. William E Wilkie, *op. cit.*, 9: 'Kings had long been assigning national procurators to the curia to see to the expediting of routine business, and the sending of *ad hoc* diplomatic representatives to the pope was a well-established practice. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, however, procurators could and did acquire promotion also to the status of ambassador (*orator*), and papal reluctance to admit resident ambassadors to the curia was relaxed.'

²³² For supplications in which Edwardson is mentioned, see Supp. Nos. 1492, 1506, 8, 9, 24, 25, 64, 88, 104, 107, 127, 141, 147, 154, 163, 164, 230, 283, 284, 344, 354, 354.1, 359, 361, 370, 379, 407, 502, 506, 560, 677, 812, 866, 910, 944, 1010. It is likely that the same cleric is involved throughout. However, Edwardson is said to be dead on 13 May 1483, yet appears to be still alive in April 1484; Supp. Nos. 910, 1010. Although these two supplications concern two different benefices - the perpetual vicarage of Perth and the rectory of Benholm - and this may suggest

benefice, and indeed founder of the collegiate church, was Alexander Hume, lord of Hume, who, prior to 13 April 1475, had presented Edwardson to the ordinary (archbishop of St Andrews) but he had refused to institute and collate him.

Edwardson had then been provided by the pope.²³³ Alexander Hume had granted from his annual rents and goods an annual reward of 40 merks Scots for life to a John Edwardson (who is likely to be the same man) before 9 March 1471.²³⁴ A year later Edwardson then supplicated that a pension of 40 merks Scots or £9 sterling payable to him from the fruits of the priory of Coldingham be ratified. At this time he was acting as procurator and *syndic* of the convent as well as of the prior, John Hume, son of Alexander Hume, and would thus seem to have been in opposition to the king who had supplicated for the suppression of the priory and the diversion of its revenues to the chapel royal of St Mary in April 1472.²³⁵ However, the king supplicated on behalf of both Sir Alexander Hume and John Edwardson on 22 June 1476 in a supplication concerning arrangements for the presentation and confirmation of provosts of Dunglass and of prebendaries and chaplains within the collegiate church.²³⁶ The main question, then, is how did Edwardson become involved with two patrons with conflicting interests and manage to obtain rewards from both of them? Unfortunately, this is a question which cannot be answered from the supplications alone but serves as an example of the type of issue which has emerged from close analysis of the *Registra Supplicationum*.

two different people, a supplication of March 1482 links a John Edwardson to both benefices; Supp. No. 812

²³³ Supp. Nos. 230, 379

²³⁴ Supp. No. 1506

²³⁵ R B Dobson, 'The last English monks on Scottish soil - the severance of Coldingham priory from the monastery of Durham 1461-78', *SHR* XLVI (1967), 20-1

²³⁶ Supp. No. 359

Robert Blackadder also appears to have spent considerable periods of time in Rome and in no less than fifteen supplications of the period he mentioned his official duty as representative of the king.²³⁷ These particular supplications cover periods in 1474, 1476, 1477, and 1478. This would indicate that he was the main representative of the king at the *curia* of Sixtus IV and his appointment as a papal protonotary in March 1476 would appear to reflect this.²³⁸ As with the majority of examples discussed, the particular business which Blackadder was authorised by the king to conduct is not revealed, but the dates of these supplications again would point to the St Andrews situation in particular. As with the other representatives of the king, Blackadder was able to advance his own career considerably in the period as his provisions to cathedral dignities reveal: he gained provisions to the archdeaconry of Lothian in St Andrews diocese, the precentorship of Dunkeld, the archdeaconry of Teviotdale in Glasgow diocese, the archdeaconry of St Andrews and the archdeaconry of Aberdeen before being promoted to the bishopric of Aberdeen, and finally translated to the bishopric of Glasgow.²³⁹

²³⁷ See footnote 202 above. For the career of Blackadder during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, see John Dowden, *op. cit.*, 127-8, 331, 336; W Campbell, 'The first Archbishop of Glasgow - Part I', *RCHS* VIII (1944), 55-74

²³⁸ Supp. No. 333. Royal procurators were often appointed as papal protonotaries, see pages 112-13 above

²³⁹ For provisions to these cathedral dignities, see Supp. Nos. 1444, 1454, (archdeaconry of Lothian); 180 (precentorship of Dunkeld); 254 (archdeaconry of Teviotdale); 519 (archdeaconry of St Andrews); 693 (archdeaconry of Aberdeen). It should be noted, though, that not all of these provisions were ultimately successful. See also, D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 313, 108, 307, 20, 3, 149. Watt does not have an entry for Blackadder under his list of archdeacons of Teviotdale, *ibid.*, 177

Royal supplications

It is probable that one of the functions of the royal representatives was to prosecute royal supplications. Supplications from the king appear not only at around the time of Ramsay's mission, but also in May and June 1474 when Bunch, Bully and Ross were in the *curia* and in March and May 1484 around the time of Bellenden's mission.²⁴⁰ In total King James III provided ostensible backing to 53 supplications.²⁴¹ These supplications can be divided into three main categories: supplications directly concerning the royal household; supplications on behalf of royal servants or kinsmen; and supplications of wider concern to the Scottish church.

There exist only a small number of supplications which directly refer to worship within the royal household - although there are other supplications which mention the names of royal chaplains, and confessors. Two supplications - in June 1478 and July 1479 - concern indults for the use of a portable altar.²⁴² Furthermore, a supplication dating from March 1472 asks that the dean of the Chapel Royal be granted faculty 'to hear confessions of the king and queen and of their familiars and to absolve all and sundry, even in reserved cases, as often as necessary.'²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Supp. Nos. 177, 177.1, 194, 998, 1014. For information on Bellenden, see footnote 211 above.

²⁴¹ The figure should perhaps be 48 rather than 53 since Supp. Nos. 46, 46.1, 46.2, 46.3, 46.4, and 46.5 have been counted as individual supplications.

²⁴² Supp. Nos. 599, 691

²⁴³ Supp. No. 46.2

The majority of supplications made by the king, however, were on behalf of others. Approximately one third of the supplications made by the king concern four individuals: John Laing, treasurer of the king and bishop of Glasgow; William Scheves, counsellor of the king and then archbishop of St Andrews; John Edwardson, representative of the king in the *curia*; and John Lyle, the king's familiar and physician.²⁴⁴ Other royal servants who benefited from supplications backed by the king included: Andrew Alamani, a Danish physician of the king; Walter Drummond, chaplain of the king and queen; and John Ireland, counsellor and familiar.²⁴⁵ These supplications largely concern provisions to benefices or dispensations to hold incompatible benefices. For example, the supplication on behalf of Walter Drummond seeks his provision to the perpetual vicarage of Aberdeen while the first of the supplications on behalf of John Laing requests that he be dispensed to hold one incompatible benefice along with the vicarage of Linlithgow which he was holding (or without it two incompatibles).²⁴⁶ The other supplications on behalf of Laing, though, post-date his promotion as bishop and concern his episcopal duties and see.

Supplications made by the king which can be categorised as of wider interest to the Scottish church concern two broad subjects: religious houses and collegiate churches.²⁴⁷ In March 1472 the king was concerned with the restoration to their

²⁴⁴ For these supplications see Supp. Nos.: 39, 305, 848, 849 (John Laing); 177, 177.1, 194, 280, 335, 368 (William Scheves); 283, 284, 359 (John Edwardson); 299, 649, 662 (John Lyle)

²⁴⁵ Supp. Nos. 40 (Andrew Alamani); 862 (Walter Drummond); 998 (John Ireland)

²⁴⁶ Supp. Nos. 862, 39

²⁴⁷ A supplication of the king which can also be included in this category (and which also straddles the previous category) is that he made with Thomas Spens,

previous state of hospitals which had been previously annexed to monasteries 'for false causes'; at the same time he was keen to investigate the suitability of Premonstratensian canons who were holders of parish churches.²⁴⁸ Similarly in March 1476 the king supplicated with a view to the reform of monasteries and regular houses in the diocese of Glasgow, including those which were exempt from the control of the ordinary.²⁴⁹ The king's interest in religious houses was also more specific, concerning provisions to the heads of particular houses. For example, the provision of Walter Davidson to the priory of May was sought in June 1477 while papal confirmation of the election and confirmation of John Crawford to the monastery of Dryburgh was desired later in that year.²⁵⁰ The supplications which concern collegiate churches tend to relate to questions of foundation and endowment. For example, in 1479 the king supplicated along with Alexander Guthrie concerning the foundation of the collegiate church of Guthrie.²⁵¹ Two years earlier, the king had sought the erection of the parish church of Dysart into a prebend of the Chapel Royal of St Mary in St Andrews.²⁵²

Clerics also mentioned their service to the king (and queen) in supplications as has been noted above in relation to royal representatives at the *curia*. Further examples include James Allardice, 'counsellor of the king of Scotland' who sought provision to

bishop of Aberdeen and previously keeper of the Privy Seal. It concerns Spens' and his church's exemption from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of St Andrews; Supp. No. 167. See also, N A T Macdougall, *op.cit.*, 108

²⁴⁸ Supp. Nos. 46.4, 46.3

²⁴⁹ Supp. No. 336

²⁵⁰ Supp. Nos. 483, 489, 535

²⁵¹ Supp. No. 679. See also Supp. No. 168 in which Alexander's father, David Guthrie, lord of Guthrie supplicated that a collegiate church be erected.

²⁵² Supp. Nos. 474, 525

the archdeaconry of Lothian in 1480 and John Reid or Stobo who, in 1483, desired dispensation to hold his rectory of Kirkchrist in Galloway diocese without being promoted to holy orders.²⁵³ Reid was also a vernacular poet and in 1478 he had been 'awarded a pension for life in return for services to the king and his predecessors as a writer of letters to the Pope and diverse kings, princes and magnates outwith the kingdom.'²⁵⁴ In addition to John Edwardson and Walter Drummond two other clerics - John Cant and Alexander Cant - mentioned in their supplications that they were chaplains of the queen.²⁵⁵

A royal patron also occurs in the person of Dorothea, queen of Denmark (the mother of the Scottish queen, Margaret) who supplicated on behalf of Alexander Gifford, rector of Biggar in Glasgow diocese on 9 May 1475 during her visit to Rome for the Jubilee celebrations.²⁵⁶ The supplication requested that Gifford be granted a dispensation to hold an incompatible benefice along with the rectory of Biggar, or alternatively two incompatible benefices without it.

²⁵³ Supp. Nos. 748, 901, 953. Cf. D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 313 where Allardice does not appear among the list of archdeacons of Lothian. Reid's benefice appears as *Kirkcryste* in Supp. No. 901 and as *Kerkpatrik* in Supp. No. 953, both in the diocese of Galloway. The identification of the second benefice is thus a potential problem as parish churches named Kirkpatrick with a suffix were all in the diocese of Glasgow, see I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967), 123-4. However, the sense of both supplications suggests that the same benefice is meant.

²⁵⁴ John MacQueen, *op. cit.*, 62

²⁵⁵ Supp. Nos. 301, 414, 795

²⁵⁶ Supp. No. 238; L von Pastor, *History of the Popes IV*, translated by F I Antrobus (London, 1900), 281

Connections with the nobility

The supplications not only reveal the royal connections of clerics but also their connections with the nobility. The most apparent feature of supplications by members of the nobility, however, concerns matters of personal interest and prestige evidenced partly by the desire to found and endow collegiate churches. For example, in 1470 George Seton, lord of Seton supplicated that a collegiate church be erected at Seton while James, earl of Morton supplicated, in 1473 and 1475, that prebends be created from the parish churches of Newlands, Kilbucho and Mordington for his collegiate church of St Nicholas at Dalkeith.²⁵⁷ Matters of prestige may also have prompted John Stewart, earl of Mar and Garioch to supplicate for an indulgence to be bestowed upon those who supported the restoration and maintenance of the parish church of Auchindoir in Aberdeen diocese of which Richard Forbes was the rector (and fellow supplicant).²⁵⁸ Robert Lauder, temporal lord of Bass' motivation to erect a parish church from his chapel of Bass has already been questioned elsewhere. It has been concluded that 'Lauder's real concern was not for the inhabitants' souls but for the teinds of the solan geese which he apparently obtained thereafter.'²⁵⁹

From information in the supplications two clerics can be directly linked with Lauder in this period: firstly Robert Fairweather who was to become rector of the new parish church of Bass at the request of Lauder and secondly George Brown, bishop

²⁵⁷ Supp. Nos. 1439, 136, 303, 308

²⁵⁸ Supp. No. 676

²⁵⁹ Supp. Nos. 453, 738, 742; I B Cowan, 'Church and Society', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 120

of Dunkeld from 1483. Robert Fairweather can be linked definitely with four benefices in this period: the vicarages of Kinglassie and St John of Perth, the rectory of Bass and the Cistercian priory of Dunbog, all in the diocese of St Andrews.²⁶⁰ It is likely too that the same Robert Fairweather supplicated for provision to the vicarage of Crawford-Lindsay in 1474.²⁶¹ However, it remains far from certain that the Robert Fairweather who supplicated for provision to the canonry and prebend of Vlachin in Caithness in 1483 and the Robert Fairweather, continual commensal familiar of the pope, who supplicated for provision to the vicarage of Kilbirnie in Glasgow diocese in 1475 were also the same person (despite the common description 'clerk of St Andrews diocese').²⁶²

There is a hint, though, that the Robert Fairweather who was a continual commensal familiar of the pope was the same person as the Robert Fairweather, rector of Bass, due to Robert Lauder's support of George Brown who had distinct connections with the *curia*. The story told by Alexander Myln of Brown's cautious return to Scotland in 1485 and the intervention of Lauder ('Robert with the borit quhyngar') on his behalf before the king has been renarrated elsewhere, as has Brown's connection with Rodrigo Borgia, papal vice-chancellor and the future Pope Alexander VI.²⁶³ What has not been explained, nevertheless, is why Lauder chose to intervene on behalf of Brown. Although the complete answer cannot be found in the

²⁶⁰ Supp. Nos. 138, 530, 742, 767, 768, 812, 815, 819, 910. Supp. No. 815 provides a definite link of Fairweather to all four benefices.

²⁶¹ Supp. No. 209

²⁶² Supp. Nos. 905, 218. Accordingly, the link ids in the Peolink table maintain three separate identities.

²⁶³ Alexander Myln, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, Bannatyne Club I (Edinburgh, 1823), 27-9; N A T Macdougall, *op. cit.*, 224-5; John Dowden, *op. cit.*, 79-81

supplications from Sixtus IV's pontificate, a partial explanation can be provided.

Robert Lauder was also lord of Auldcathy and claimed patronage of the parish church of Auldcathy.²⁶⁴ On 31 May 1475 (and on 17 June) George Brown supplicated for provision to the benefice to which he had been presented by Robert Lauder to the representative or the vicar of the archbishop of St Andrews. Since the latter had refused to institute him to the benefice, preferring Matthew Pringle who had been presented by the king, Brown sought the help of the pope.²⁶⁵ Thus Lauder's support of George Brown in 1485 had origins extending back at least ten years. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the previous incumbent of Auldcathy was said to have been John Brown.²⁶⁶

Other refusals by the ordinary to institute clerics presented by the patron of a benefice reveal the connections of these clerics with members of the nobility. The case of John Edwardson's provision to the provostship of Dunglass has already been discussed. Other examples include the presentation of Hugh Douglas by the earl of Angus to the rectory of Dunlappie, on which occasion (some time before 6 February 1471) institution was refused by the bishop of St Andrews, and the presentation of David Guthrie by Alexander, temporal lord of Guthrie to the provostship of the collegiate church of Guthrie some time before 15 February 1482. Institution was

²⁶⁴ The three granddaughters of Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass inherited the lands of Auldcathy after the death of their grandfather in 1436; *The Scots Peerage* IV, ed Sir James Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1907), 447. Before his death Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass had been disputing the patronage of the parish church of Auldcathy with the canons of the priory of St Andrews. Between 1436 and 1483/4 (when Sir Robert Lauder of the Bass became rightful patron) patronage was claimed by the priory of St Andrews, the Crown and James, lord Hamilton; I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967), 11

²⁶⁵ Supp. Nos. 249, 264

²⁶⁶ Supp. No. 249

refused in this case by the bishop of Brechin.²⁶⁷ Similarly Kentigern Crichton was presented by Alexander, temporal lord of Glamis to the chaplaincy of Forgandenny before 21 May 1471 but the bishop of Dunkeld refused to institute him.²⁶⁸

Connections with the nobility could be mentioned by clerics with a view to impress the pope or simply as part of the narration of events. An example of the former would appear to be two supplications made by Martin Wan, secretary of Robert, duke of Albany, the king's brother which concern a dispensation to hold whatsoever compatible and two incompatible benefices.²⁶⁹ An example of the latter is Alexander Piot's appeal for rehabilitation from guilt of homicide. Piot was chaplain of Alexander Lyon, lord of Glamis and in 1476 had killed a layman while defending his master and his own brother in a revenue dispute in the hospice or chapel of St Mary in the parish of Eassie.²⁷⁰

Social origins

Connections with the nobility could be of a more direct nature. Not surprisingly evidence can be found which reveals, or would hint at, familial relationships. It is

²⁶⁷ Supp. Nos. 1497, 811. Hugh Douglas was the nephew of James Kennedy, the previous bishop of St Andrews; Supp. Nos. 493, 504. See also pages 184-5 below. With regard to David Guthrie, cf. D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 360 where, in the list of provosts of Guthrie, the first known date for David Guthrie is given as 24 July 1483. For John Edwardson, see pages 126-7 above.

²⁶⁸ Supp. No. 1513

²⁶⁹ Supp. Nos. 193, 202. For other supplications by Martin Wan, see Supp. Nos. 115, 187

²⁷⁰ Supp. Nos. 326, 333.1. Cowan identifies the hospital as Balgownie in Angus; I B Cowan, 'Church and Society', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 134

highly likely, for example, that the Roger Carruthers who held the parish church of Mouswald in Glasgow diocese in May 1474 was a member of the Carruthers of Mouswald family who were patrons of the benefice.²⁷¹ Furthermore, claims of noble birth were made by supplicants who sought favours (whether material or dispensatory) from the pope. Calculations using the new person ids reveal that 128 clerical supplicants claimed to be of noble or baronial race. The link ids reduce this figure to 94.²⁷² Thus, approximately 16.5% of clerical supplicants claimed to be of noble or baronial race.²⁷³

It is beyond the scope of the present study to investigate the familial relationships at issue here and hence to develop further the significance of these raw figures.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Supp. No. 185; I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967), 153. For family connections in relation to benefice-holding, see pages 202-3 below.

²⁷² The total number of supplicants has been calculated to be 608 (using the link ids). The respective figures for the person ids and new person ids are 1315 and 811. These figures, though, include lay people (100 person ids, 37 new person ids, and 37 link ids). The minimum number of clerical supplicants, therefore, is deemed to be 571 (using the link ids) while the maximum number is 774 (using the new person ids). There were 7 lay supplicants claiming nobility in addition to those titled members of nobility previously discussed. Their person descriptions are confined to three categories: 'knight', 'nobleman' and 'noblewoman'.

²⁷³ The figure is 16.5% using the new person ids and 16.46% using the link ids. The methodology for calculations can be explained as follows: The person id numbers for supplicants are contained within the Persupp table and a join with the Peolink table creates lists of new person id numbers and link id numbers. A query on each of these lists can be conducted which determines the number of unique id numbers within each list. In the case of the percentages given here, and those which follow in this section, it should be borne in mind that calculations have been based on distinct claims made by supplicants in the supplications; for example, that the supplicant is of noble race or is a Master of Arts. The procedure is to extract person id numbers from the Perdesc or Qualif tables for those making each claim and then to link the result with the Persupp table to produce a list of person id numbers. A link with the Peolink table produces lists of new person id numbers and link id numbers which can be calculated as percentages of the number of clerical supplicants (i.e. of 774 and 571 respectively).

²⁷⁴ The difficulty of the task is heightened since the names of parents etc are

However, one point which has been highlighted by John Durkan is worth re-emphasizing. In his discussion of students in the early years of Glasgow University, Durkan states that 'Occasionally persons with no indication of nobility in the university records describe themselves in papal supplications as having vague baronial and even royal connections and it is hard to know how far to believe them . . .'.²⁷⁵ Accordingly, the figures should perhaps be regarded as indicative of numbers of supplicants who recognised the value of having noble blood even if in reality their claims could only be tenuously substantiated.²⁷⁶ The possibility of a high degree of genuine claims, though, should not be excluded, particularly because 'it was dangerous to claim noble connections untruthfully since that gave an opening to any rival to challenge the validity of a document'.²⁷⁷

On the other hand it is anticipated that figures for illegitimacy will undoubtedly be more accurate since for a career-minded cleric the state of illegitimacy required dispensations at various stages. For example, a dispensation was required for such an individual to be promoted to priestly orders and to hold an ecclesiastical benefice.²⁷⁸ Omissions may occur in statistics, nevertheless, due to the fact that it excluded.

²⁷⁵ John Durkan and James Kirk, *op. cit.*, 185

²⁷⁶ M Dilworth, 'The Social Origins of Scottish Medieval Monks', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* XX (1980), 200: 'Nobility being an asset, it is highly probable that the noble blood claimed by many petitioners, illegitimate or otherwise, was somewhat diluted.'

²⁷⁷ *ibid.*, 199

²⁷⁸ For a discussion on issues arising from illegitimacy and for fourteenth century examples, see A D M Barrell, *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378* (Cambridge, 1995), 239-41. With regard to dispensations from illegitimacy, 'Below the subdiaconate, the bishop could grant the dispensation; but for holy orders proper recourse had to be to the papal penitentiary, the pope himself, or one of the bishops or papal agents (legates and nuncios) who received limited powers to grant such dispensations . . .': R N Swanson, *Church and Society in Late*

was possible to request that in future supplications mention of defect of birth be omitted.²⁷⁹ Of the clerical supplicants who have been identified as claiming to be of noble or baronial race, around 13% were illegitimate.²⁸⁰ This includes Nicholas Ross who was a 'son of a married knight and a married woman of noble race' and who had been dispensed by the ordinary before approaching the apostolic see.²⁸¹ Ross is unusual in that both of his parents were married; more usually in cases of illegitimacy one or both parents were unmarried.

The figures for the number of supplicants who were illegitimate are 94 (new person ids) and 61 (link ids). These figures represent respectively 12.1% and 10.7% of the new person id and link id populations of clerical supplicants. The illegitimate clerical supplicants who claimed to be of noble race represent 16-21.3% of the subset of illegitimate clerical supplicants.²⁸² Illegitimate sons of priests represent approximately 55% of the subset and thus around 27% of illegitimate clerical supplicants were probably of lay and non-noble origin.²⁸³ There is slight overlap

Medieval England (Oxford and New York, 1989), 39. See also, J A F Thomson, 'The Well of Grace': Englishmen and Rome in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 102; J P Foggie, 'Archivum Sacrae Paenitentiarie Apostolicae in the Vatican Archives as a source for Scottish historians', *IR XLVII* (1996), 113-15 discusses dispensations from illegitimacy granted by the Apostolic Penitentiary.

²⁷⁹ See, for example, Supp. No. 517

²⁸⁰ The figures are 16 (new person ids), and 13 (link ids) which translates to 12.5% and 13.8% of the clerical supplicants of noble race subset.

²⁸¹ Supp. Nos. 307, 410, 419.1

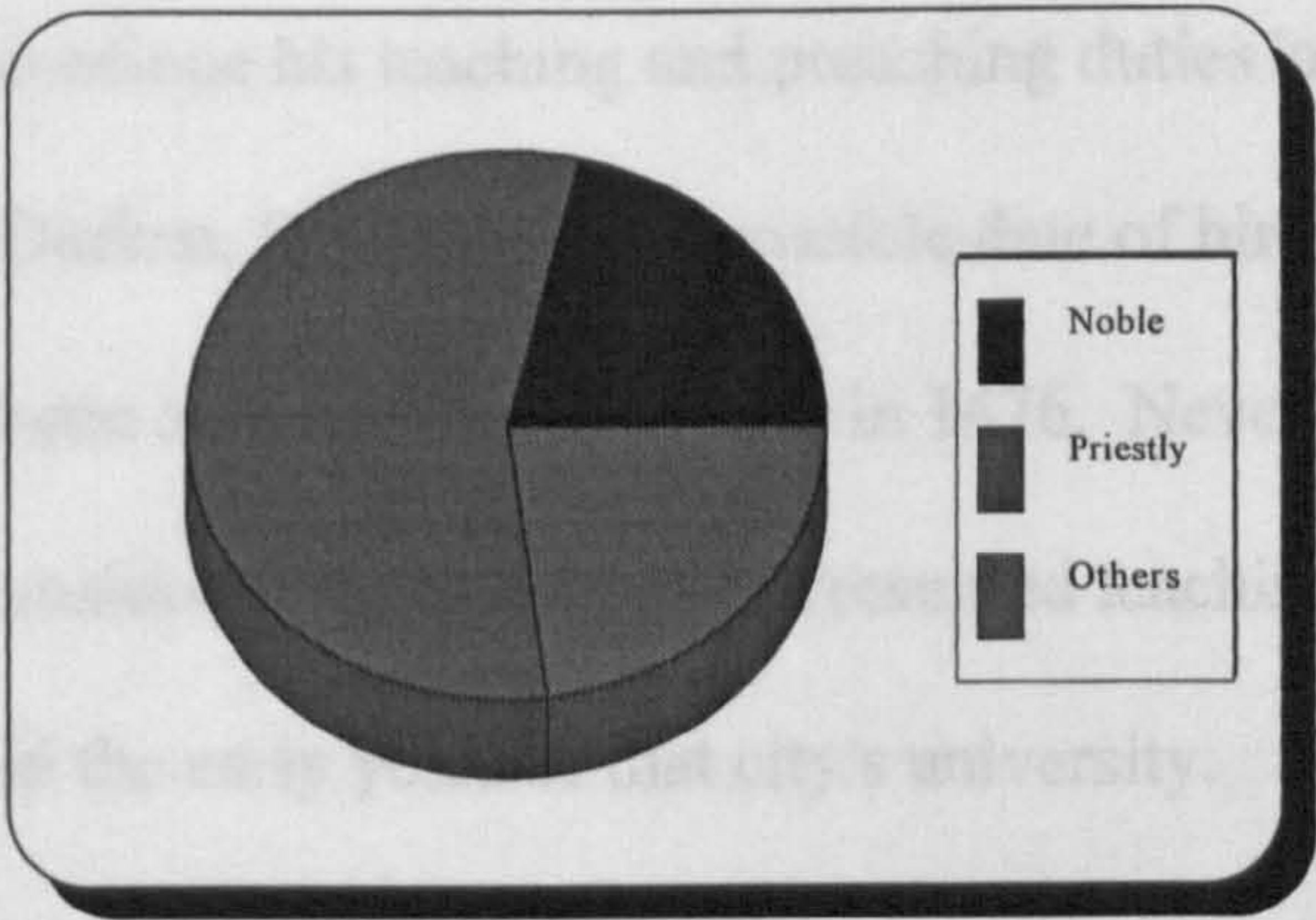
²⁸² M Dilworth, *op. cit.*, 200: 'It was in the interest of a petitioner to offset his illegitimacy with any nobility to which he could lay claim. Silence, therefore, should mean that there was no nobility to claim, even more so than with those born in wedlock.'

²⁸³ The figures for illegitimate clerical supplicants who were sons of priests are 71 (unique person ids), 53 (new person ids), and 34 (link ids). These represent 54.2%, 56.4%, and 55.7% respectively of the illegitimate clerical supplicants subset. The person description 'son of an unmarried man and an unmarried woman' would

involved as there were two sons of priests who also claimed noble birth - their statistics have been included amongst the illegitimates of noble birth.²⁸⁴ Included among the sons of priests is John Liston, provost of St Salvators in St Andrews who suffered from defect of birth as 'son of a religious and a single woman'.²⁸⁵ Figure 5 below displays the situation graphically using the results from the link id numbers.

Figure 5

Social Origins of Illegitimate Clerical Supplicants



seem to indicate lay and non-noble origin.

²⁸⁴ They were Edward Hume and Roger Carruthers. See Supp. Nos. 156, 378 and 431 for the former and Supp. No. 785 for the latter.

²⁸⁵ Supp. No. 874

Age

The Scottish supplications from 1470 to 1484 reveal very little about the ages of clerics: there are only about 43 supplications which mention age. Most of these concern defects of age, although there are a few which illustrate the other end of the extreme. Richard Cady, for example, is described as 'stricken in age' and Andrew, abbot of Holyrood, as 'of mature age but of sound mind'.²⁸⁶ William, abbot of Kilwinning was either a sexagenarian or a septuagenarian in the early 1470s.²⁸⁷ In addition, James Ogilvie, provost of St Salvator's collegiate church in St Andrews resigned his position in return for a pension in 1476 because of his inability to continue his teaching and preaching duties 'on account of his age'.²⁸⁸ According to Durkan, Ogilvie's latest possible date of birth was early 1414,²⁸⁹ so he must have been at least 62 years of age in 1476. Nevertheless, despite resigning from his position in St Salvator's, he resumed teaching duties in Aberdeen two decades later in the early years of that city's university.

Canon law dictated strict minimum ages for promotion to minor and each of the major orders and for the holding of specific types of benefice. For example, a subdeacon was required to have attained eighteen years of age, a deacon had to be

²⁸⁶ Supp. Nos. 111, 1428

²⁸⁷ Supp. Nos. 1527, 1535, 5

²⁸⁸ Supp. No. 415. A more complex explanation for the resignation is given in *Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588*, 2 vols, Scottish History Society, third series, LV, ed A I Dunlop (Edinburgh, 1964), I, xxxiv

²⁸⁹ John Durkan and James Kirk, *op. cit.*, 75 where (and on the following page) a summary of Ogilvie's career is given. See also, Leslie J Macfarlane, *op. cit.*, 319, 372

nineteen and a priest twenty-four years of age.²⁹⁰ A bishop was required to be at least thirty years of age while twenty-two was 'apparently the minimum age for being blessed as a regular abbot'.²⁹¹ A cathedral prebend, however, could be held from the age of fourteen.²⁹² It was possible, though, to be dispensed from a defect of age and thus be promoted or attain a benefice below the canonical age. A celebrated example of the practice is that of the promotion of Alexander Stewart, the illegitimate son of King James IV, to be administrator of the archbishopric of St Andrews in 1504 at around the age of eleven.²⁹³ Indeed the holding of benefices by minors, particularly with respect to commendatorships of religious houses, has been regarded frequently as one of the major abuses of the late medieval Church.²⁹⁴

The supplications studied have not disclosed such extreme examples. The examples of under-age clerics do reveal evidence, though, of their holding of canonries and prebends, cathedral dignities and parish churches. Furthermore, one of the main

²⁹⁰ Peter Heath, *English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London and Toronto, 1969), 15. Cf. Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977), 51 where Hay states that about seven was the minimum age for first tonsure and minor orders, eighteen for the sub-diaconate, twenty for the diaconate and twenty-five for the priesthood.

²⁹¹ *ibid*; John Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland: its Constitution, Organisation and Law* (Glasgow, 1910), 25; Mark Dilworth, *Scottish Monasteries in the late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995), 20

²⁹² John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay, *The Archbishops of St Andrews I* (Edinburgh and London, 1907), 71-2 note IV where it is commented that the 'procuring of such monetary aid for young and noble students was a recognised custom'.

²⁹³ John Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), 37

²⁹⁴ Mark Dilworth provides examples of the practice in Scotland in the sixteenth century but he later makes the point that 'Commendation in Scotland came late, developed slowly and was less stark and harmful than elsewhere. Dom David Knowles . . . unfortunately wrote that commendation could be seen at its worst in Scotland at the end of the fifteenth century, and Scottish historians have embroidered that judgement. The reality is that Scotland had a late and mild form of commendation not found elsewhere . . .': Mark Dilworth, *op. cit.*, 20, 23

subjects of concern was the desire to hold incompatible benefices. For example, in 1483 Michael *Straten*, canon of the Chapel Royal of St Mary on the Rock in St Andrews who held Dysart as his prebend and who was 'in the nineteenth year of his age', sought dispensation that he might hold two incompatible benefices in addition.²⁹⁵ Similarly, in April 1470 Robert Graham, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age and who was the nephew of Patrick Graham, bishop of St Andrews, was dispensed for his defect of age when he gained expectative graces to two canonries with expectation of prebends and to one or two ecclesiastical benefices with the added benefit of enjoying the privileges of papal familiars.²⁹⁶

The youngest recipient of a dispensation for defect of age mentioned in the supplications was Nicholas Hume. His indult to obtain canonries and prebends in cathedral churches had been granted when he was an eight year old scholar but was not to become effective until 'after he had attained clerical character and the tenth year of his age'.²⁹⁷ Two other supplicants were also keen to gain benefices in order to help finance their studies. On 19 February 1479 Patrick Boyce, who was in his eighteenth year and was intending to study letters, sought dispensation to hold an ecclesiastical benefice with cure and on the same day an identical request was made by James *Petrigren*, a clerk of the same age who was intending to study at a university.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Supp. No. 883. The full dispensation which had been sought would not become effective, however, until he was in his twenty-second year of age as the result clause states: *Concessum ut petitur de uno et de duobus in vicesimo-secundo*.

²⁹⁶ Supp. No. 1434

²⁹⁷ Supp. Nos. 247, 360. In these supplications Hume (in his twelfth and thirteenth year of age respectively) seeks extensions of the indult.

²⁹⁸ Supp. Nos. 654, 656

Walter Forbes and Thomas *Liggart* shared more modest defects of age. In March 1475 Forbes sought provision to the vicarage of Inverurie in Aberdeen diocese and dispensation for defect of age since he was 'in the twenty-third year of his age'. In June 1470 *Liggart*, 'in the twenty-second year of his age', supplicated that his provision to the vicarage of Inverferan in Ross diocese be confirmed since he had been collated and provided by ordinary authority and had held the benefice for two years without due dispensation for his defect of age.²⁹⁹ The importance of gaining the necessary dispensation can be seen from one final example. On 13 April 1475 Robert Houston supplicated that *Peter de Sandilands* be deprived of the archdeaconry of Argyll due to his collation by ordinary authority while suffering from defect of age and his subsequent holding of the benefice without the requisite dispensation, in addition to his lack of promotion to orders.³⁰⁰

Qualifications

Individual supplicants with qualifications have already been mentioned above in the context of familiars of the pope and of cardinals and especially with regard to those clerics who managed to acquire privileges of papal familiars.³⁰¹ The academic careers of Duncan Bunch, ambassador of the king to the pope, and James Ogilvie, retired provost of St Salvator's collegiate church, have also been referred to.³⁰² In particular, the combination of qualifications, service to the king and reward from the pope has been highlighted in a number of cases. In this respect the careers of Robert

²⁹⁹ Supp. Nos. 222, 1451

³⁰⁰ Supp. No. 231

³⁰¹ See above, pages 78-80, 92-3, 97

³⁰² See above, pages 123-4, 141

Blackadder, John Edwardson and William Scheves have served as illuminating examples.³⁰³

As a global group approximately 28% of supplicants stated that they possessed qualifications.³⁰⁴ This figure may be a slight underestimate, though, due to omissions from the supplications, in particular in supplications which emanated from those of high rank (prelates and perhaps from some of the papal and cardinal familiars).³⁰⁵ For example, Patrick Graham, bishop and then archbishop of St Andrews, did not state his academic qualifications when he supplicated.³⁰⁶ Graham had reached prelatial rank before the beginning of Sixtus' pontificate and his qualifications do not appear in the supplications under review. The problem is lessened somewhat in the case of bishops such as Robert Blackadder who, although he did not advertise his qualifications in supplications which post-date his appointments to the bishoprics of Aberdeen and Glasgow, appeared regularly in the supplications prior to attaining episcopal rank and so stated his qualifications therein.³⁰⁷

³⁰³ See above, pages 118-30

³⁰⁴ The figures for clerical supplicants with qualifications are as follows: 333 (unique person ids), 229 (new person ids), and 151 (link ids) which translates to 27.4%, 29.58%, and 26.4% of the three populations of clerical supplicants. It should be noted that these figures represent supplicants with qualifications who made the supplications on behalf of themselves and does not necessarily include those clerics with qualifications for whom someone else supplicated - although the majority of those for whom someone else supplicated also made supplications on behalf of themselves and so the linkage process should rectify this to a large degree.

³⁰⁵ See pages 92-3 above

³⁰⁶ Graham had attained his Bachelor of Arts and Licentiate in Arts qualifications at the University of St Andrews in 1454 and 1456 respectively. He is described as a Master in April 1457 and was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts on 1 October 1457. For details of his academic career, see John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay, *op. cit.*, 14-21; A I Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 103, 111, 119, 123, 125

³⁰⁷ This problem of omission of qualifications information by the supplicants at

To impart precise figures for numbers of supplicants with one qualification and for those who possessed two or more qualifications is potentially more problematic. The possibility that a first or a second degree was attained during the course of the supplications should not be ruled out in calculations. One area of concern is that of clerics who are described simply as Bachelor of Decrees [*Scottice*]. The description Bachelor of Decrees occurs more often in conjunction with Master of Arts. At first sight, the difficulty here would appear to be that of determining the place in which the Canon Law qualification was obtained since in Scotland the Canon Law faculties in St Andrews and Glasgow were higher faculties and so one would expect graduates to have attained an Arts degree prior to embarking on further study in the Law schools. Similarly in the Faculty of Law at Paris the 'students were all graduates . . . [and] they were nearly all secular priests or clerics . . .'.³⁰⁸ On the other hand, Annie Dunlop states that 'Whereas normally all secular clergy who aspired to a degree in Theology first went through the Arts curriculum, most Law students qualified in Law without any such training in Arts' and, citing Rashdall, she highlights the situation at Orleans and Avignon.³⁰⁹ The assumption therefore would appear to be that those who are described solely as Bachelors of Decrees attained their qualification without having completed an Arts degree. However, there are supplicants who are known to have possessed more than one qualification but who only state one in the source. For example, James Ogilvie who describes himself as a

times and its implications for generating statistics can be resolved to a certain extent through the linkage process provided that there is sufficient other evidence on which to base links.

³⁰⁸ Leslie J Macfarlane, *op. cit.*, 30

³⁰⁹ A I Dunlop, *op. cit.*, cli and note 1

theology professor is known to have had qualifications in Arts, but he does not state this in supplications (presumably because of his higher academic status).³¹⁰

In light of these issues it must be stressed that the following figures reflect the information contained within the source and should not be regarded as absolutes. Of the 151 Scottish clerical supplicants who possessed qualifications, seventeen specifically stated that they possessed two qualifications - although on occasions some members of this group state only one qualification.³¹¹ Of the seventeen, ten were qualified in Arts and Canon Law, one had a qualification in Arts and Civil Law, five were theologians in addition to Masters of Arts and, one was a Master of Medicine and of Arts.³¹² Those supplicants who professed to having one qualification fall largely into the Master of Arts category but the second most popular choice for a first qualification was that of Bachelor of Decrees (assuming of course that this was indeed a first qualification). Twenty supplicants fall into this latter category.

³¹⁰ See footnote 289 above

³¹¹ This and the following statistics are based on calculations using the link id numbers.

³¹² For supplications made by those who were qualified in Arts and Canon Law, see Supp. Nos.: 45, 87, 580 (Alexander Stewart); 1519, 1529, 63, 328, 339, 579, 688, 736, 897, 898 (William Elphinstone); 115, 187, 193, 202 (Martin Wan); 166, 184, 452 (Henry Boyce); 282, 288 (David Meldrum); 435, 443, 458, 471, 487, 500, 512, 544, 562, 749, 750, 929, 951 (John Fresel); 478, 503, 637, 643 (John Goldsmith); 583, 590, 600, 606, 607, 614, 625.1, 658, 658.1, 695, 943, 963, 969, 971, 984, 987 (David Hugonis); 609, 609.1, 611, 613.1, 617, 650, 660 (John Brown); 1499, 745, 781, 782, 917, 1030 (Gavin Vaiche). For John Crichton, Master of Arts and Licentiate in Civil Law, see Supp. No. 108 (and Supp. No. 183 is likely to be from the same cleric). For the five theologians who were Masters of Arts, see Supp. Nos.: 1487, 102, 524, 640 (John Lock); 1512, 189, 191.1, 192, 196 (Duncan Bunch); 270, 992 (John Ireland); 382 (James Scot); 916 (Richard Muirhead). For John Lyle, Master of Arts and Master of Medicine, see Supp. No. 569

Within themselves the supplications reveal very little about place of study, although there are a few isolated references. For example, Hugh Douglas is described as Master of Arts and Regent of the Faculty of Arts in Paris University; Michael Fleming is described as a Bachelor of Arts who was 'studying the Arts in the University of Glasgow'; John Ireland acted as a Regent of the Faculty of Arts and as a Theology professor in the University of Paris; and Andrew Stewart gained his Master of Arts degree at the University of Glasgow before continuing his studies at the University of Paris.³¹³ Other external evidence reveals that Scottish clerics who appear in the supplications under review had links too with the Universities of St Andrews, Louvain, Orleans, Cologne, Bologna, Ferrara, and Vienna.³¹⁴ For example, William Cameron, prior of St Andrews, had studied at Cologne, Bologna and Ferrara.³¹⁵ It would be an interesting project to trace the institutions where the clerics, who have been identified in the supplications as having qualifications, studied in order to determine whether or not that had any bearing on links with the *curia* and future career patterns.

Supplicants who possessed qualifications were not a homogeneous group. Not only did their academic institutions vary, but the type of benefices which they sought, and perhaps their reasons for doing so, do not lend themselves to generalisations. It is

³¹³ Supp. Nos.: 529 (Hugh Douglas); 75 (Michael Fleming); 270, 992 (John Ireland); 11, 53 (Andrew Stewart)

³¹⁴ See, for example, John Durkan and James Kirk, *op. cit.*, *passim*; R J Mitchell, 'Scottish Law Students in Italy in the later Middle Ages', *Juridical Review* XLIX (1937), 19-24; R J Lyall, *op. cit.*, 55-73; Annie I Cameron, 'Scottish Students at Paris University, 1466-1492', *Juridical Review* XLVIII (1936), 228-55; J Kirkpatrick, 'The Scottish Nation in the University of Orleans, 1336-1538', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* II (Edinburgh, 1904), 45-103

³¹⁵ R J Mitchell, *op. cit.*, 21-2. For supplications in which William Cameron supplicated, see Supp. Nos. 66, 70.1, 74, 83, 89, 157, 221, 274, 439

apparent that for some clerics the benefice sought was one in the locality of their academic institution and thus presumably provided a means of financial support to enable them to continue their studies. For example, Thomas Forsyth sought provision to the vicarage of Lindean in Glasgow diocese on 26 March 1471. Forsyth was a Bachelor of Decrees who was a student in the university of Glasgow.³¹⁶ For others, though, it would seem that their academic qualifications were being advertised in an effort to gain more prestigious or financially lucrative benefices. For example, Thomas Ross, also a Bachelor of Decrees, sought confirmation of his collation and provision to the subdeanery of Ross on 21 February 1477.³¹⁷

An analysis of the benefices associated with those who held solely Canon Law qualifications and with those who possessed qualifications in Theology (with or without Arts qualifications being stated) discloses a range of benefice types from chaplaincies to monasteries, with greater variation of benefice type and value occurring in the case of those clerics with solely Canon Law qualifications.

Furthermore, it would appear that over one third of benefices associated with this group were in the diocese of Glasgow.³¹⁸ The variation for this group can be exemplified partly by supplications made by Thomas Pile and John Whitelaw.

Thomas Pile, Bachelor of Decrees, sought provision to the personal chaplaincy of St John the Evangelist in the collegiate church of Abernethy in Dunblane diocese, the

³¹⁶ Supp. No. 1510; John Durkan and James Kirk, *op. cit.*, 136 note 30

³¹⁷ Supp. No. 434

³¹⁸ There were 34 benefices, fourteen of which were in the diocese of Glasgow. In total ten dioceses are represented, the omissions being Orkney, Sodor or the Isles, and Moray. Four archdeaconries feature - Teviotdale (in Glasgow), Aberdeen, Galloway or Candida Casa, and Argyll or Lismore.

value of which was £7 sterling.³¹⁹ In comparison, in 1475 John Whitelaw, Bachelor of Decrees, who was rector of Penicuik in St Andrews diocese, sought provision to the archdeaconries of Argyll and of Teviotdale (in Glasgow diocese), both of which were valued at £35 sterling.³²⁰ On 5 July 1475 he also expressed a desire to be provided to the rectory of Annan in Glasgow diocese which was valued at £20 sterling.³²¹

On the other hand over one third of the benefices associated with clerics who possessed qualifications in Theology were in St Andrews diocese.³²² One of the main reasons for this would perhaps be that St Andrews was the location of St Salvator's collegiate church which had been established by Bishop James Kennedy in 1450, primarily to encourage and support the study of Theology.³²³ Thus it is not surprising to find evidence of clerics with theological qualifications seeking benefices in St Andrews diocese. For example, on 31 August 1476 James Scot, Master of Arts and Bachelor in Theology, sought confirmation of his presentation to the parish church of Kilmany. Scot had been presented by the provost of St Salvator's, the patron of the benefice, to the ordinary who had refused to admit the presentation.³²⁴

³¹⁹ Supp. No. 159

³²⁰ Supp. Nos. 253, 256

³²¹ Supp. No. 269

³²² There were fifteen benefices, six of which were in the diocese of St Andrews. Only six dioceses are represented: Brechin, Glasgow, Dunkeld, St Andrews, Aberdeen, and Moray.

³²³ Annie I Dunlop, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews*, St Andrews University publications No. XLVI (Edinburgh and London, 1950), 274. Three of the foundationers were to be theologians; a Master (who was to be Provost of the College), a Licentiate, and a Bachelor; *ibid.*, 274-5

³²⁴ Supp. No. 382

Not surprisingly religious houses are also a feature for this group. In May 1483 Walter Ruch, a Licentiate in Theology, sought provision to the Cistercian monastery of Balmerino in St Andrews diocese which was valued at £100 sterling while in March 1477 James III had supplicated that Brother John *Mere*, Bachelor in Theology, be given the commend of the Trinitarian ministry of Fail in Glasgow diocese, the value of which was £30 sterling.³²⁵

In an article in which the education and careers of approximately 400 graduates between 1340 and 1410 are analysed, Donald Watt concludes that a high proportion of the group studied had gained their qualifications in an effort to obtain benefices in order to gain professional advancement and that the greater the benefice the more highly qualified the incumbent was likely to be. He also notes the low proportion of graduates with qualifications in Theology in contrast to the greater number of Law graduates.³²⁶ The results from the supplications would not appear to contradict these conclusions should they be applied to the latter part of the fifteenth century.³²⁷

Indeed, with reference to the first of these two points in particular, results of analysis of the 1470-84 supplications bear out this conclusion. Of those clerics who sought provision or verification of provision to chaplaincies around 14% had qualifications. For parochial benefices the figure is between 27.9% and 35.8%, for archdeaconries the figure is between 41% and 55.5%, and for deaneries the figure is 66.7%.³²⁸ The

³²⁵ Supp. Nos. 906, 455

³²⁶ D E R Watt, 'University Graduates in Scottish Benefices before 1410', *RSCHS* XV (1964), 77-88

³²⁷ Indeed Ian Cowan states that a 'survey of fifteenth-century petitions reveals that the pattern of university graduates in cathedral benefices noted by Watt . . . is maintained for the remainder of the century'; I B Cowan, 'Church and Society', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 129 note 41

³²⁸ Where two sets of figures are given, the first figure refers to supplications in

supplications, though, present only a limited view of the complete picture; close collation of sources such as matriculation lists, other papal registers, and the extant diocesan material would be required before any more definitive conclusions can be posited.

Ordinations

One subject which has received little attention in studies of the medieval church in Scotland is that of ordinations.³²⁹ This deficiency must be attributed largely to lack of information in the extant Scottish ecclesiastical sources. No ordination lists exist in the native material in contrast to the relatively rich supply available to historians of the English church: English material is extant for certain dioceses from the

which qualifications are stated. The second figure, however, is calculated by means of the link ids to reconcile instances in which the supplicant was inconsistent in giving his qualifications. The methodology for these calculations is fairly complex. It involves the following stages: a) firstly the person ids of those who supplicated for provision or who sought verification of provision to the particular benefice types are sought. This involves a link of the People, Benefic and Relatio tables (with codes S, V and A in the Relatio table); b) the resulting person ids are then linked with the Peolink table and the number of link ids is ascertained - i.e. the number of clerics who sought particular benefice types; c) stage a) is repeated but this time the resulting person ids are linked with the Qualif and Peolink tables from which the number of link ids is ascertained - i.e. the number of clerics with qualifications who sought the particular benefice type and who stated their qualifications in these supplications. This figure can then be calculated as a percentage of that acquired through stage b); d) stage a) is repeated and the resulting person ids are linked with the Peolink table to produce a list of link ids. These link ids are then relinked with the Peolink table to produce person ids which are linked to the Qualif table. The result is then relinked with the Peolink table and the number of link ids ascertained - i.e. the number of clerics with qualifications who sought the particular benefice type but who were not always consistent at giving their qualifications. This figure can then be calculated as a percentage of that acquired through stage b).

³²⁹ Barrell discusses briefly the subject of ordinations in the fourteenth century. See A D M Barrell, *op. cit.*, 58, 96-7, 152, 254

1250s.³³⁰ That ordination lists do not exist as a Scottish source for the period is frustrating. It would be useful, for example, to know of the diocese of origin of a cleric so that mobility of clergy could perhaps be traced. Information regarding sponsors would be equally useful. In addition definite dates of promotions could also prove beneficial in the record linkage process.³³¹

After receiving the first tonsure (which was not technically an order), an aspiring cleric proceeded to take in turn each of the four minor orders (*ostiarius*, *lector*, exorcist, and acolyte) before being ordained successively to the three major orders (subdeacon, deacon, and priest).³³² Not only did canon law dictate minimum ages for promotion to specific orders,³³³ certain times of the year were also set aside for ordinations: 'the Saturdays in the third week of Advent, the first week of Lent, the vigil of Trinity, and in September following the octave of the Virgin's Nativity; if for any reason these days were impossible or another day essential, it could only be on the Saturday before Passion Sunday or on Holy Saturday'.³³⁴ It was possible, though, for two minor orders to be received on the same day.³³⁵ It was usual practice for the ordinands to be ordained in their local diocese of origin but it was possible

³³⁰ Virginia Davis, 'Medieval English Clergy Database', *History and Computing* 2.2 (1990), 75

³³¹ It should be noted, nevertheless, that extant ordination lists in England vary in information content from diocese to diocese, so that not all of these issues can necessarily be addressed for any one diocese. For the possibilities for research using ordination lists as a base and also a critical discussion of their limitations as a source, see *ibid.*, *passim*; R N Swanson, *op. cit.*, 31-6.

³³² It is worth noting, however, that 'Many men were ordained to the minor orders with no intention of proceeding further; ordination to the minor orders did not commit a man to a clerical career or to a life of celibacy'; Virginia Davis, *op. cit.*, 75

³³³ See pages 141-2 above

³³⁴ Peter Heath, *op. cit.*, 13. See also Denys Hay, *op. cit.*, 51

³³⁵ Peter Heath, *op. cit.*, 14

for ordinations to occur outwith the diocese of origin provided that the ordinand had the requisite letters dimissory signed by his bishop. In either case an examination as to competence was part of the required process. Furthermore, the cleric had to satisfy a number of conditions; for example, he was to be legitimate and free from bodily defects.³³⁶ Guaranteed proof of income was also needed whether it be from a benefice, a pension from a religious house or the patronage of a member of the nobility (to cite a few examples).³³⁷

The supplications reveal three main types of information concerning ordinations. Firstly, there is information regarding those who had been promoted to orders at a time previous to that of their supplications - this information is often to be found in conjunction with details about previous dispensations for defect of birth. For example, William Scheves and Thomas Stewart had received their dispensations (from illegitimacy) to be promoted to all holy orders by letters of the Sacred Penitentiary.³³⁸

In some cases concern was expressed as to the veracity of previous ordinations and so the supplications contain a desire for confirmation. For example, in October 1471 Robert *Leys* stated in a supplication that he had been previously dispensed from illegitimacy to be promoted to orders and hold one benefice and that he had been so ordained, before gaining collation to the vicarage of Carluke in Glasgow diocese. In his case the dispensation had been granted by the bishop of Glasgow who had also

³³⁶ For a list of requirements, see *ibid.*, 51-2. Dispensations could be granted to circumvent some of these requirements, however.

³³⁷ *ibid.*, 17; Virginia Davis, *op. cit.*, 84

³³⁸ Supp. Nos. 177, 177.1, 178

subsequently dispensed him to hold a further two benefices - initially the vicarages of Colmonell and Dreghorn - 'by pretext of a faculty granted by Calixtus III, and revoked by Pius II'.³³⁹ It was the validity of the dispensation following the revocation of the faculty granted to the bishop, which concerned Leys and in the same month Andrew Stewart also voiced similar doubts about his own dispensation and provision.³⁴⁰

Two other cases involving defective promotions can be cited. In 1475 Alexander *Baton* needed to approach the pope for dispensation in order to remain in orders and retain his chaplaincy. *Baton* had been ordained and then collated to the benefice without having been dispensed for illegitimacy. In the supplication he claimed that he had been unaware of his illegitimacy before becoming a benefice holder.³⁴¹ The case of James Dun, vicar of Kintore in Aberdeen diocese, is particularly unusual. Dun required to be promoted to holy orders by reason of his vicarage and so had endeavoured to gain permission from the pope. Unfortunately he had relied on a notary of Robert, bishop of *Anteraden*,³⁴² to oversee his supplication. This notary had deceived Dun into believing that the supplication had been signed by the pope and the bishop had promoted Dun to minor orders. However, since the supplication had not been signed by the pope not only had Dun not been promoted further but he

³³⁹ Supp. No. 12

³⁴⁰ Supp. No. 11. See also Supp. No. 1508 which mentions John Abernethy's dispensation to be promoted which had been granted after the revocation of a similar faculty imparted to James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews. Abernethy had been promoted to the order of acolyte but had subsequently needed to receive papal dispensation to 'exercise clerical character' and retain his benefice.

³⁴¹ Supp. No. 237

³⁴² Annie Dunlop has identified this as the bishopric of Fortoso in Syria.

had also been excommunicated. Thus on 11 April 1475 he sought absolution, with a view to further promotion.³⁴³

The second class of information relates to those who should have been ordained to the priesthood by virtue of their office but were not; either because they had omitted to do so or because they had been, or were requesting to be dispensed from doing so. Evidence for non-promotions can be found particularly in supplications of the *privatio* type whereby the supplicant seeks that another cleric be deprived of his benefice due to some misdemeanour or defect.³⁴⁴ Included among the legitimate causes for deprivation was that of clerics who had not been promoted to orders within a year of their peaceable possession of a parish church.³⁴⁵ The example of Peter *de Sandilands* has been referred to earlier.³⁴⁶ Another example is that of Archibald Lindsay who, in January 1477, had held the rectory of Kirkpatrick-Juxta in Glasgow diocese for over a year without the due promotions.³⁴⁷

Reasons are occasionally given as to why the cleric in question received dispensation not to be promoted. Service to the king and his studies were the reasons cited by John Reid or Stobo in 1483 when he sought dispensation to hold the rectory of

³⁴³ Supp. No. 229

³⁴⁴ For deprivations, see pages 209-14 below

³⁴⁵ G Mollat, 'Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques en Occident', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, II, ed R Naz (Paris, 1937), col 432: *Aux curés qui ne recevaient pas les ordres sacrés dans le délai d'un an à partir de leur prise de possession pacifique, et cela sans monition préalable . . . Les décrétales ne concernaient pas les églises collégiales, même paroissiales.*

³⁴⁶ See page 144 above

³⁴⁷ Supp. Nos. 420, 426. The identification of the benefice is a problem since in Glasgow diocese the benefices Kirkpatrick-Juxta Gretna (or Kirkpatrick-Fleming) and Kirkpatrick-Juxta Moffat were both independent parsonages within the patronage of the bishops of Glasgow; I B Cowan, *op. cit.*, 123-4

Kirkchrist in Galloway diocese without being promoted to holy orders for five years.³⁴⁸ An extension of time had also been sought in the previous year by Alexander *Simonis* who had requested dispensation to hold the perpetual vicarage of Banchory-Ternan in Aberdeen diocese or another benefice for five years without being promoted to priest's orders, although he agreed to be promoted to the diaconate within one year.³⁴⁹

The third class of information consists of those who sought promotion to orders. In a few cases a dispensation on account of some bodily defect was needed. For example, Robert Ross sought dispensation to be promoted to holy orders since he was suffering from defective vision in one eye due to a blow he had received from a cabbage.³⁵⁰ Similarly Johanna Hepburn, legitimate daughter of lord Hepburn and one of very few examples of a female religious in the supplications under review, was suffering from an eye disease and required dispensation for the furtherance of her career as a nun.³⁵¹ On the other hand Dougal *Gregory* (or *Gregorg*),³⁵² who had been promoted to all minor orders and who desired to be promoted further, sought absolution from guilt of homicide due to his accidentally killing a young boy while teaching him how to swim.³⁵³

³⁴⁸ Supp. No. 901. See also page 132 above

³⁴⁹ Supp. No. 821

³⁵⁰ Supp. Nos. 349, 413.1. See also John Durkan and James Kirk, *op. cit.*, 198

³⁵¹ Supp. No. 386

³⁵² This is the version of the surname which appears in the calendar and it does seem to be an accurate transcription of the original. It is possible though, that the reading should be *Gregorij* and so could perhaps be standardised to MacGregor.

³⁵³ Supp. No. 543

There were about fourteen clerics who sought to be ordained without specifying place of ordination and the presumption must be that these ordinations were to take place *in partibus*. However, there is evidence in the supplications of a greater number of clergy, albeit still a relatively small number, who were, or at least asked to be promoted to either minor or major orders within the Roman Court usually by a prelate of their own choice. Independently from the *Registra Supplicationum* there exist in the Cameral archives fourteen volumes of the *Libri Formatarum* covering the period 1425-1524. As noted by Leonard Boyle, this series is comprised of ordination lists, letters dimissory and payments associated with dispensations.³⁵⁴ Unfortunately this source is incomplete: 'there are *lacunae* from 1456 to the end of 1463, and from 1475 to the end of 1480'.³⁵⁵

In the period 1470 to August 1484 there were 35 Scottish supplicants who expressed a desire to be promoted to orders in the Roman Court.³⁵⁶ Of these 35, 32 had a connection with specific benefices and sought promotion in order to lawfully retain these benefices (while these benefices were also used as their titles or guaranteed

³⁵⁴ Leonard Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings*, (Toronto, 1972), 47 where Boyle provides a short list of bibliographical references. Unfortunately, no secondary literature appears to exist in English for this source, although Denys Hay does mention it briefly in his book *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977), 50, 54, 55, 140, 143. All of the entries for the British Isles from the series have been extracted and transcripts are available in the Public Record Office, London (PRO 31/9). Microfilm and an index of Scottish entries are available in the Scottish History Department at the University of Glasgow.

³⁵⁵ W Maziere Brady, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875* (Rome, 1876-7), xvii. See also L Schmitz, 'Die Libri Formatarum der Camera Apostolica', *Romische Quartalschrift* (1894), 451-7

³⁵⁶ These account for approximately 3% of supplications and 6% of supplicants in the period under review. See Supp. Nos. 1433, 1440, 1503, 239, 398, 488, 523, 619, 633, 645, 661, 700, 704, 727, 746, 754, 755, 766, 818, 831, 878, 926, 927, 942, 946, 947, 954, 960, 966, 973, 974, 976, 985, 994, 999, 1018, 1020, 1026

sources of income). In addition two of the 35 were pensioners attached to religious houses. Fifteen of the 32 benefices were chaplaincies and nine were vicarages. Furthermore five of the vicarages were in Ireland, one of the chaplaincies was in Ely diocese in England, and one of the pensions concerned a religious house in the diocese of Winchester in England.³⁵⁷ The Scottish benefices were from five dioceses: Moray, Glasgow, Aberdeen, St Andrews and Dunblane. Where given the personal descriptions show that the clerics concerned can be linked to a further Scottish diocese: Brechin. Thus it is the lowland and central dioceses that are represented. None of these supplicants were of noble or baronial birth with only one - Robert Barclay - having been dispensed for defect of birth as the son of a priest and an unmarried woman.³⁵⁸

Turning to the evidence in the *Libri Formatarum* for the period 1470 to 1484 one discovers that there were twelve individuals who received promotion to orders - six to the priesthood, five to the first tonsure (although not technically an order) and one to the rank of acolyte and lesser orders. The five who were promoted to the first tonsure were all scholars from either the diocese of St Andrews or the diocese of Aberdeen. Three chaplaincies are mentioned. The dioceses represented in this source are Brechin, Moray, Aberdeen, St Andrews and Ross. As in the supplications the more peripheral dioceses, such as Orkney and Sodor, are not featured for this period.

³⁵⁷ For these Irish and English benefices, see Supp. Nos. 645, 754, 878, 973, 974, 976, 985, 994

³⁵⁸ Supp. Nos. 700, 704, 973

Only two of the supplicants seeking ordination to the priesthood are to be found in this other source - George Lichton and Andrew Donaldson. On 1 March 1471 Lichton, chaplain at the altar of St Mary in the cathedral church of Moray asked for licence and faculty to be given so that he could be promoted to priest's orders by a prelate deputed by the Apostolic Camera.³⁵⁹ From the *Libri Formatarum* it is found that Lichton was promoted to the rank of acolyte and other lesser orders on 9 March and then to the rank of subdeacon on 30 March. On 13 April he was promoted to the rank of deacon and then on 25 April to the priesthood. It is mentioned, however, that this latter promotion was 'by strength of a supplication signed on 17 Kal. April' [16 March],³⁶⁰ but no supplication of that date concerning this case exists in the *Registra Supplicationum*.

Andrew Donaldson, a clerk from the diocese of Aberdeen, and rector of the parish church of Bass in the diocese of St Andrews supplicated on 20 April 1482 to be promoted to the priesthood 'by some catholic bishop at the Roman court, chosen and licenced by the Pope'.³⁶¹ After a series of promotions he was eventually promoted to the priesthood on 8 May.³⁶²

Denys Hay is of the opinion that it was possible for 'the ambitious and the unscrupulous to obtain orders with a minimum of trouble in the Roman Curia . . . but, it should be added, with a maximum of expense'.³⁶³ It is difficult to assess the

³⁵⁹ Supp. No. 1503

³⁶⁰ *Libri Formatarum*, PRO transcripts, 31/9-29, 161

³⁶¹ Supp. No. 818

³⁶² *Libri Formatarum*, PRO transcripts, 31/9-29, 491

³⁶³ Denys Hay, *op. cit.*, 55

accuracy of a statement such as this on the evidence gained from both the supplications and the *Libri Formatarum* since the majority of people in question only appear once and therefore little information is revealed about them. The records may be indicative of absenteeism from benefices and an unwillingness on the part of candidates to be examined and ordained by local ordinaries. However, there is the example of Maurice Boy from the diocese of St Andrews who had been promoted to the first tonsure in the Roman Court and was, on 25 November 1475, given an apostolic special licence to be promoted by Thomas, bishop of London, or his suffragan bishop or his agent to minor and then major orders including the priesthood, since he resided near the diocese of London.³⁶⁴

There are two main points to be noted on the basis of the evidence acquired. The first of these concerns that of the titles by which the ordinands were ordained. The preponderance of chaplaincies and, to a lesser degree, rectories and vicarages is striking. This is in contrast to the situation in England in the same period, where a rise in titles from religious houses has been observed.³⁶⁵ It would be interesting to examine the titles by which English clerics were being ordained in the *curia*. If, for English clerics, titles from religious houses were also found to be prominent in this source, this may suggest that the source reflects the native situation and would thus indicate a significant difference between clerical career patterns between Scotland and England. The second point which must be made concerns perspective.

³⁶⁴ *Libri Formatarum*, PRO transcripts, 31/9-29, 206-7

³⁶⁵ Peter Heath, *op. cit.*, 17; Virginia Davis, *op. cit.*, 84-5 where it is demonstrated that in Winchester diocese between the early fourteenth century and the mid to late fifteenth century, there was a sharp rise in the number of ordinands who offered a title from a religious house and a vast decline in the number who offered a title from a parochial benefice.

Although these ordinands can be classified as a distinct group in the Scottish supplications, their place in the overall picture of the *curia* diminishes their significance somewhat. For example, at the general ordination of 21 December 1471, 58 received the first tonsure, 16 were promoted to minor orders, and 31 were ordained to holy orders.³⁶⁶ Yet amongst these 105, only two Scots were present: John *Fancuriar*, a scholar from St Andrews diocese, and Alexander *de Blinsel*, a scholar from Aberdeen diocese (both of whom received the first tonsure).³⁶⁷

³⁶⁶ Denys Hay, *op. cit.*, 55; L Schmitz, *op. cit.*, 461

³⁶⁷ *Libri Formatarum*, PRO transcripts, 31/9-29, 203

Chapter III - Benefices

Even from a cursory glance through the supplications under review, the immediate impression is that the majority of supplications concern some aspect of benefice-holding. Not only are the aspects varied - including litigation, pensions, and exchanges - but the benefices themselves vary in type, geographical location, and monetary value. Nevertheless, at the heart of these aspects lies the subject of papal provisions and the papal claim to possess the *plenitudo potestatis*. The implications which this had for lay rulers and local ordinaries have generated much interest from ecclesiastical historians, particularly in terms of conflict between the papacy and local ecclesiastical patrons.¹ The supplications too provide evidence of such conflict (and indeed conflict at local level between ordinaries and lay patrons), but also indicate co-operation between the various patrons.

The system of papal provisions had become highly developed by the period under review. Papal provisions had developed from a simpler system of recommendations by the pope of clerics to be collated to benefices. By the thirteenth century the system of papal reservations (both general and special) was being clarified so that the pope claimed to have the right to provide to certain benefices following set

¹ One of the most accessible guides to the subject of papal provisions is Geoffrey Barraclough, *Papal Provisions* (Oxford, 1935) on which much of what follows is based. See also, G Mollat, 'Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques en Occident', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, II, ed R Naz (Paris, 1937), cols 418-19. In a Scottish context see, for example, G P Innes, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage . . . in Scotland in the Later Middle Ages', *RSCHS* XIII (1957), 73-83; I B Cowan, 'Patronage, Provision and Reservation: Pre-Reformation Appointments to Scottish Benefices', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, edd I B Cowan and D Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 75-92

criteria. An important development was the decretal *Licet ecclesiarum* of 1265 which stipulated the pope's right to dispose of ecclesiastical benefices and initiated this process of defining criteria. It proclaimed that benefices vacant by the death of the incumbent at the papal court or within two days' journey of it were subsequently subject to be provided by the pope.² Rules such as this became statutory and were deemed general reservations. The pope could also make special reservations, though, whereby certain individual benefices became subject to papal provisions for a specific period or for a time without limit.³

The papal provisions in the supplications deal with benefices which were below the value of 100 florins gold of Camera. Benefices above that value were dealt with by the pope and cardinals in Consistory.⁴ Papal provisions cut across the usual rights of local patrons whether they be ecclesiastical or lay. In a local setting secular benefices were either bestowed upon clerics by means of presentation by a lay or regular patron and then institution by ordinary authority (often by the bishop). Benefices whose patron was the bishop or cathedral chapter were subject to direct collation by the ordinary or cathedral chapter. In the regular domain a system of election and confirmation (either by a superior of a religious order or by the ordinary) was the traditional method for the appointment of abbots, for example.⁵

² G Barraclough, *op. cit.*, 8-9

³ G Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon 1305-1378*, translated by Janet Love (Edinburgh, 1963), 336: 'There were two kinds of reservation: general and special. General reservations affected, either in perpetuity or temporarily, all benefices of a certain category, vacant or due to fall vacant, either in the whole Church or in some specified province, diocese or kingdom. Special reservations were concerned with one benefice only, by reason either of its location, or its status, or its persons, and lasted either for a specified time or for ever'. See also page 109 above

⁴ *ibid.*, xiv

⁵ This is a very basic description of the system. For a fuller explanation, see G

An ecclesiastical benefice has been defined as 'a sacred office, with or without the care of souls, to which a perpetual income is attached'.⁶ However, it has been shown that the system of papal provisions placed emphasis on the *beneficium* rather than the *officium* - in other words neglecting the spiritual, public element of a benefice and concentrating on the idea of a benefice as property to be bestowed on an individual.⁷ The reason for this was that the benefice was regarded by canonists in concepts, based on Roman civil law, which were applied to non-ecclesiastical property.⁸ An essential concept to grasp is that a papal provision merely bestowed upon the recipient a right to be considered as the future holder of a benefice rather than entailed a guarantee of actual possession. Thus the recipient was given a *tenue ius* or the right to a hearing.⁹ Obviously problems would arise when the ordinary had also provided a candidate to the benefice or when another papal candidate was claiming a similar right. The system of expectative graces and the granting of *Motu Proprio* provisions served to exacerbate further the potential problems.

Mollat, 'Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques en Occident', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, II, ed R Naz (Paris, 1937), cols 406-49, particularly cols 413-17. This article, which discusses the historic evolution of benefices before the Concordat of Vienna in 1448 (although at times refers to the later fifteenth century situation), categorises benefices according to a number of criteria including a general division between secular and regular benefices, mode of appointment (election, collation, papal provision etc), and whether benefices were simple or double (with or without *cura animarum* - cure of souls).

⁶ Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property* (Berkeley, 1985), 17

⁷ G Barraclough, *op. cit.*, 71-6

⁸ *ibid.*, 76-89. Roman civil law had seen a revival in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at the time when the papal system of reservations was being formalised. The concept of a benefice as personal property had further implications for the judicial process, allowing for the surrogation of new litigants in place of original litigants; *ibid.*, 78-9

⁹ The *ius implorandi officium iudicis* or the *impetrandi seu petendi facultas*; *ibid.*, 93-4

Before looking at issues such as the holding of incompatible benefices and petitions relating to deprivations it is necessary to examine the context into which the analysis must be regarded. There are four essential points to consider; the first two of which were raised (albeit not in a purely Scottish context) by Geoffrey Barraclough in his survey of both the historical evolution of the system of papal provisions and historiography relating to the subject.¹⁰ The first point which must be understood is that the supplications in both extant and lost registers were records of successful supplications. Aside from lost registers, there is an unknown quantity of supplications which were rejected. It is impossible even to speculate therefore what percentage of the total amount of Scottish supplications are represented by those under review and which benefices were involved in lost and unsuccessful supplications.

The second point relates to efficacy of provisions: the outcome of the supplications cannot always be ascertained easily. What percentage of benefices provided by the pope were effective in reality? Barraclough claims that 'only about half of the supplications acceded to led to the issue of letters, and only about half of the letters issued resulted in the actual conferment of a benefice'.¹¹ Not only was this due to disputes between the papacy and lay rulers and ordinary authority but at times there were claims between rival papal candidates. For example, after the death of Alexander Rait, papal familiar, there were several rival candidates requesting one, two or all three of the benefices which were held by Rait at the time of his death.¹²

¹⁰ *ibid.*

¹¹ *ibid.*, 37

¹² See, for example, Supp. Nos. 665, 666, 671, 692, 692.1, 693, 696

Accordingly Barraclough has recommended that papal archival material be analysed in close collation with local material, preferably with an emphasis on the native material.¹³ The application of this procedure has been shown to pay dividends as evidenced by the work of Barrell in his comparison of relations between the papacy and both Scotland and northern England in the fourteenth century.¹⁴ However, as in this instance, whenever the collation of material has taken place, the paucity of native Scottish sources must always result in a less than complete picture.

The third point relates to the quantity of Scottish benefices which are represented in the source and their diocesan distribution. When one considers that there were about 1,000 parish churches alone in Scotland in this period, to which there must be added benefices in cathedrals, collegiate churches and religious houses, it is immediately obvious that only a modest proportion of Scottish benefices are represented in the supplications under review. Furthermore, the diocesan distribution has a tendency to skew in favour towards St Andrews and Glasgow, larger dioceses and university centres, rather than dioceses such as Orkney, Sodor and Caithness.

The fourth point relates to the question of reliability of information. The supplications can only reveal the situation at one moment in time, although they can also provide narratives of previous events. But how reliable are these narrative accounts of past events? The element of bias on the part of petitioners should not be lost sight of, particularly in supplications which refer to litigation or which seek the

¹³ G Barraclough, *op. cit.*, 37-8

¹⁴ A D M Barrell, *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378* (Cambridge, 1995)

deprivation of a third party. Indeed Huisdean Duff has illustrated the exaggerations of supplicants who, at the expense of the incumbents, were desirous of obtaining provision to Augustinian houses in the course of the fifteenth century.¹⁵ Thus, since the supplications can present only a partial picture of benefice-holding in the late medieval Church in Scotland, it must be stressed that the issues covered in this chapter and the results of analysis refer to the image presented by the supplicants themselves and accordingly should perhaps be regarded as perceptions as much as reality.

***Motu Proprio* supplications and Expectative Graces**

At first sight supplications in which the grant was made *Motu Proprio* appear to represent provisions or bestowals of favour made on the pope's own initiative. However, as has been stated earlier, this was not the case.¹⁶ A supplication lay behind each of these grants. It is noticeable that such grants were usually made in favour of high-status individuals who often had connections with either the king, the pope or one of the cardinals. Examples include Alexander Inglis' provision to the deanery of Dunkeld and Andrew Young's provision to the archdeaconry of Aberdeen.¹⁷ Supplications which were signed *Motu Proprio* gave the recipient a number of privileges, the most important of which were precedence over candidates with lesser graces and freedom of choice of benefices in specific situations. For example, if several benefices were vacant simultaneously, the holder of a *Motu*

¹⁵ H A M Duff, *An Aspect of Scottish Monasticism: the Houses of the Order of St Augustine, 1418-1488* (University of Glasgow M.Litt. thesis, 1977), 60-1, 108

¹⁶ See page 23 above

¹⁷ Supp. Nos. 519, 665

Proprio expectative grace could claim the benefice which was of greatest value or if two benefices of equal value were vacant, he could choose which one he wanted.¹⁸

Expectative grace have also been mentioned above in the context of familiars of the pope and cardinals. An expectative grace granted provision to a benefice when it should next fall vacant. As has been discussed, the grace was often to a cathedral canonry with expectation of a prebend.¹⁹ Graces could also be given for parochial benefices under the patronage of a particular individual or corporation. Barrell has discussed the difference between expectative graces *in forma speciali* which were 'issued and registered in the same way as direct provisions', and those which were *in forma pauperum* - 'in other words to poor clerks without a benefice'.²⁰

Barrell has attempted to calculate the success rate of direct provisions and expectative graces in fourteenth century Scotland. As far as the latter are concerned he admits that 'In the absence of episcopal registers, the success rate of Scottish expectancies is almost impossible to ascertain; all that can be done is to give instances of the success or probable success of expectative graces'.²¹ Similarly, from only the supplications under review it is not possible to produce a complete account of the process. However, it is possible to indicate which benefices had been claimed through expectative graces and in which dioceses. For example, in 1471 John

¹⁸ *en cas de vacance simultanée de plusieurs bénéfices d'inégale valeur, il donnait droit au plus lucratif ou à la liberté du choix si les bénéfices étaient d'égale valeur; mais la préférence devait se manifester dans les dix jours à dater de la connaissance de la vacance; G Mollat, op. cit., col 426*

¹⁹ See pages 76-7 above

²⁰ A D M Barrell, *op. cit.*, 79. See also *ibid.*, 102-3

²¹ *ibid.*, 108

Edwardson sought confirmation of his provision to the vicarage of Fishwick in St Andrews diocese which he had 'accepted under an expectative grace of the late Pope Paul II'.²² Likewise, in 1473, James *Setton* sought confirmation from the pope of his provision to the vicarage of Tibbermore in Dunkeld which he had 'accepted by virtue of an expectative grace, had himself provided and obtained possession'.²³ An example of an expectative grace which had been granted *in forma pauperum* can be cited. In 1473 Robert Fairweather sought confirmation of his provision and subsequent possession of the parish church of Kinglassie in St Andrews diocese.²⁴

Figure 6 below shows the diocesan distribution of benefices which were stated to have been claimed by virtue of papal expectative graces. The chart reveals that only seven dioceses were affected with benefices in Glasgow and St Andrews being the most popular. Interestingly the figure for the former is slightly higher than that of the latter. Thirteen of the 28 benefices were cathedral and collegiate church benefices with the remainder being parochial benefices. However, four of the twelve parochial benefices were also in the patronage of bishops.²⁵ Nearly all of the benefices in St Andrews diocese were parochial in contrast to the greater number of cathedral benefices in the dioceses of Aberdeen, Moray, Brechin, and Ross. In

²² Supp. No. 8

²³ Supp. No. 100

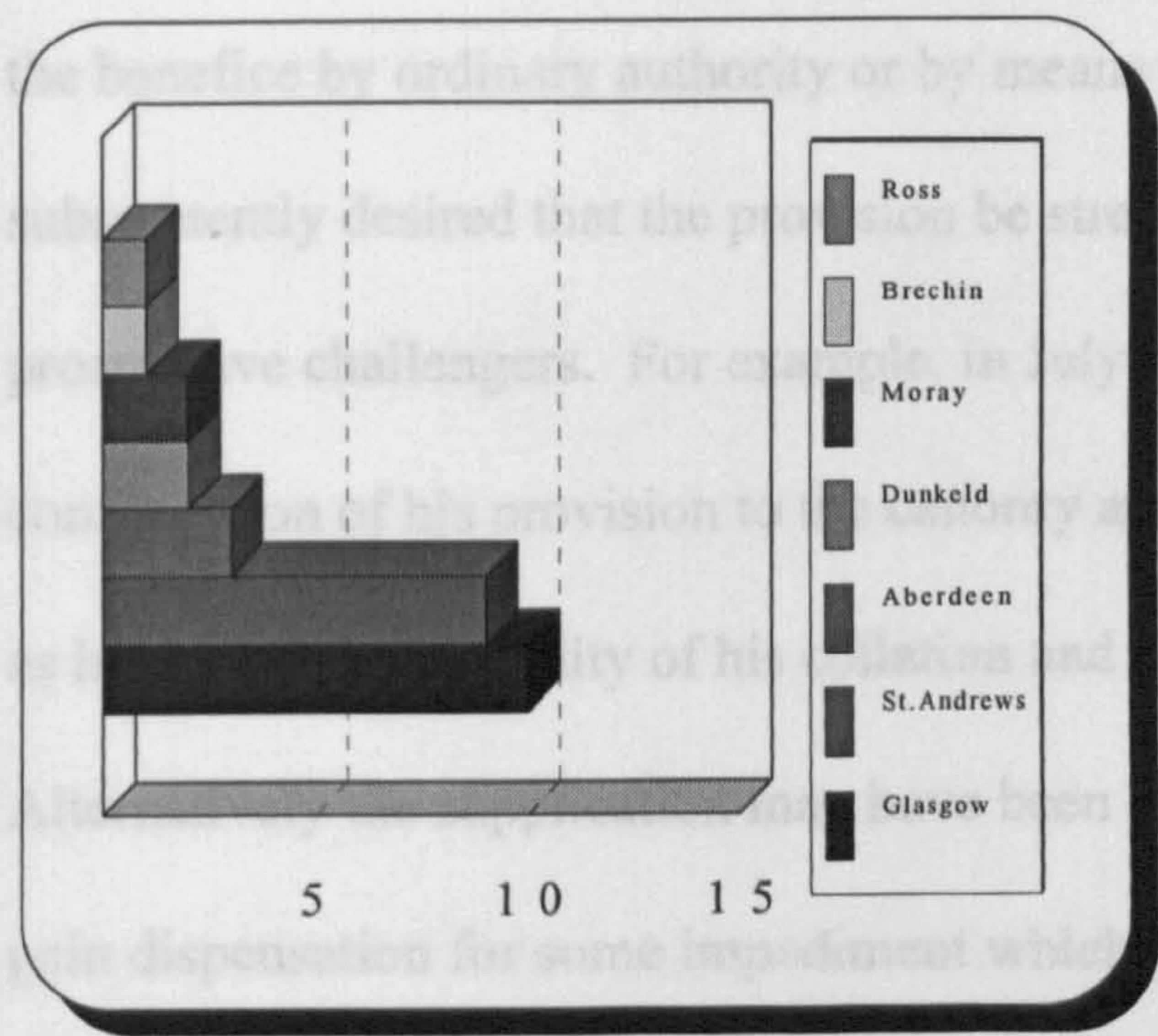
²⁴ Supp. No. 138. Fairweather is later to be found litigating against Thomas Spens over the benefice and was awarded a pension in 1477; *CPR*, XIII, 118. By January 1481 he was supplicating again for provision but is described as pensioner in March 1482; Supp. Nos. 767, 815. For another supplication which concerns an expectative grace *in forma pauperum*, see Supp. No. 820.

²⁵ These were the parish churches of Annan and Kirkpatrick Juxta which were in the patronage of the bishop of Glasgow, and the vicarages of Cramond and Tibbermore in the patronage of the bishop of Dunkeld.

Dunkeld the two benefices were parochial while in Glasgow the distribution between parochial and cathedral benefices was equal.

It has already been noted that one of the most frequent application types was that of *Nova Provisio*.²⁶ Such applications request that previous provisions (or

Figure 6 - Diocesan distribution of benefices gained through expectative graces



Of course these figures represent only benefices which are specifically stated to have been claimed by virtue of expectative graces. To gain a more complete picture it would be necessary to make career reconstructions for those to whom the graces had been given to determine how many graces were used and how many were effective. The figures presented here, though, serve to illustrate what were perhaps regarded as the dioceses in which clerics were most likely to be provided with benefices.

²⁶ See pages 28-9 above.
²⁷ Supp. No. 540.
²⁸ Supp. No. 1451.

Supplications of the *Nova Provisio* Category

It has already been noted that one of the most frequent supplication types was that of *Nova Provisio*.²⁶ Such supplications request that previous provisions (or presentations) to benefices be confirmed. The supplicant may have been provided to the benefice by ordinary authority or by means of an expectative grace and subsequently desired that the provision be strengthened, perhaps to obviate any prospective challengers. For example, in July 1482, David Chalmer sought confirmation of his provision to the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan as he doubted the validity of his collation and provision by ordinary authority.²⁷ Alternatively the supplication may have been made due to the supplicant's failure to gain dispensation for some impediment which would render his initial provision illegal, again laying himself open to challengers. In such cases a request for dispensation co-existed with the plea for verification of the original provision. For example, in June 1470, Thomas *Liggart* explained that when he was in the twentieth year of his age he had been collated and provided by ordinary authority to the vicarage of Inverferan in Ross diocese. He had subsequently held the vicarage for two years without the necessary dispensation. Hence he now sought to be provided anew and dispensed for his defect of age.²⁸

Another reason for the seeking of a new provision was that of the ordinary's refusal to provide the candidate presented to him by a lay patron or corporation. For

²⁶ See pages 28-9 above

²⁷ Supp. No. 840

²⁸ Supp. No. 1451

example, in August 1476, James Scot had been presented by the provost of St Salvator's collegiate church to the ordinary so that he would be provided to the vicarage of Kilmany in St Andrews diocese. However, the ordinary refused to admit the presentation.²⁹ Interestingly, in the following month, Andrew Young (a papal and cardinal familiar) also sought provision to the vicarage of Kilmany, specifically requesting that the right of patronage of the provost of St Salvator's be set aside for that turn.³⁰

Analysis of supplications of the *Nova Provisio* type has been conducted with a view to determining firstly which benefices were affected by this confirmation of provision process and, where information is available, why confirmation was being sought. *Figure 7* below depicts the diocesan distribution of the benefices concerned. In total there were 80 benefices distributed throughout ten dioceses.³¹ The dioceses of Orkney, Lismore or Argyll, and Sodor or the Isles are absent. In the case of St Andrews and Glasgow over one half of the benefices were parochial benefices. In contrast, in Aberdeen, Ross, Moray, and Caithness, cathedral dignities and canonries and prebends predominate markedly, while in Galloway the three benefices which feature were all headships of religious houses (the cathedral priory of Whithorn, the abbacy of Tongland, and the priory of St Mary's Isle or Trail).³²

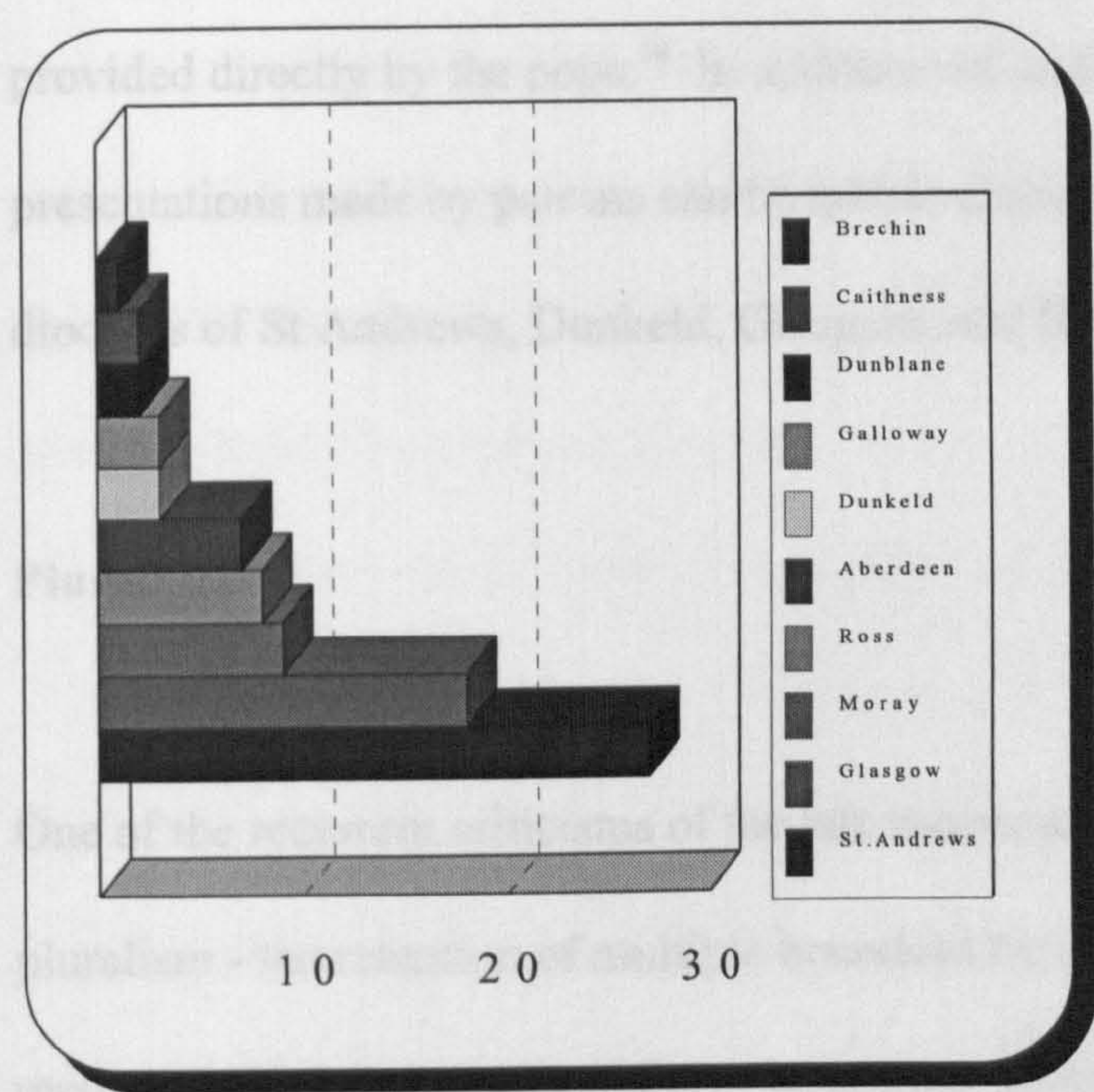
²⁹ Supp. No. 382

³⁰ Supp. No. 391

³¹ The respective figures are 27 for St Andrews, 18 for Glasgow, 9 for Moray, 8 for Ross, 7 for Aberdeen, 3 for Dunkeld, 3 for Galloway, 2 for Dunblane, 2 for Caithness, and 1 for Brechin.

³² For the *Nova Provisio* supplications regarding these three benefices in Galloway diocese, see Supp. Nos.: 198, 965 (priory of Whithorn); 983 (abbacy of Tongland); 1002 (priory of Trail). In all three cases it would appear that the supplicant had been elected by the respective chapters.

Figure 7 - Diocesan distribution of benefices for which provision is being supplicated for or verified in supplications of the *Nova Provisio* category



Seventeen of the benefices can be specifically linked with desire for confirmation of provision through expectative graces, with these graces being restricted to benefices in the dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, Moray, Aberdeen, and Ross.³³

Approximately one half of the total number of benefices had been gained by ordinary authority, with the figure being as high as two-thirds in Glasgow diocese and three-quarters in Ross diocese. In contrast in the diocese of Aberdeen papal provision is particularly prominent with three of the seven benefices having been claimed through expectative graces, one having been affected by a general reservation of the pope, and two having been provided by the bishop by apostolic

33

For expectative graces, see pages 169-71 above

authority (by means of an indult granted to Thomas Vaus by the pope concerning the resignation and exchange of benefices). The seventh benefice appears to have been provided directly by the pope.³⁴ In addition six refusals by the ordinary to admit the presentations made by patrons can be noted: these were restricted to benefices in the dioceses of St Andrews, Dunkeld, Glasgow, and Brechin.³⁵

Pluralism

One of the recurrent criticisms of the late medieval Scottish Church has been that of pluralism - the retention of multiple benefices by individual clerics. It is generally recognised that the worst offenders were those in the higher ranks of the clergy; in particular, bishops. In the wider Church the picture is reproduced with cardinals being cited as the greatest beneficiaries of the system in this context.³⁶ In Mollat's article about the evolution of the benefice system, one of the categories he divides benefices into is whether they were simple or double. This categorisation is particularly important for an understanding of the issues raised by the supplications. A simple benefice was one without either cure of souls or an administration or a jurisdiction. Into this category fall benefices such as cathedral canonries and prebends. Benefices which were double or involved the cure of souls (or an administration or a jurisdiction) included parochial churches, archdeaconries and

³⁴ These benefices in Aberdeen were the archdeaconry (Supp. No. 693), the vicarage of Tarves (Supp. No. 1423), the canonry and prebend of Tullynestle (Supp. No. 1423), the deanery (Supp. No. 964), the canonry and prebend of Mortlach (Supp. No. 734), the vicarage of Banff (or Inverboyndie) (Supp. No. 735), and the chancellorship (Supp. No. 877).

³⁵ For refusals by the ordinary, see pages 183-5 below

³⁶ See, for example, Barbara McClung Hallman, *op. cit.*, 21-46

provostships. While the former type were compatible benefices, in other words could be held in conjunction with other compatible benefices, the latter were incompatible benefices and not more than one was permitted to be held at any one time.³⁷ An important legislative act was Pope John XXII's constitution *Execrabilis* of 1317 which stipulated that if a beneficed priest obtained a second benefice with cure of souls he must resign the first within a month after obtaining peaceable possession of the second unless he had been dispensed otherwise.³⁸

Historians of the Scottish Church have attributed the practice of pluralism in large part to the few consistorial benefices available to graduates and to the system of appropriations with the subsequent concentration of wealth in the hands of the upper echelons of clergy and the larger corporations.³⁹ The immediate consequence of this was the diminution of the values of the majority of parochial benefices which in turn led to a desire on the part of incumbents to obtain more than one such benefice in order to earn a decent living. While these points are valid, no attempt has yet been made to quantify the practice of pluralism other than to make statements such as 'Scotland suffered seriously from this abuse, but not so prevalently as England or France',⁴⁰ and that pluralism 'became common for archdeacons, deans and canons. Even bishops followed suit in the fifteenth century, receiving monasteries 'in

³⁷ G Mollat, *op. cit.*, cols 412-13; John Dowden, *The Medieval Church in Scotland: its Constitution, Organisation and Law* (Glasgow, 1910), 76

³⁸ *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-1422*, edd E R Lindsay and A I Cameron, Scottish History Society, third series, XXIII (Edinburgh, 1934), xxii, note 4

³⁹ See, for example, L J Macfarlane, 'Was the Scottish Church reformable by 1513?', in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929*, ed N A T Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 30; M Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992), 99

⁴⁰ J H Cockburn, *The Medieval Bishops of Dunblane and their Church* (Edinburgh, 1959), 17

commendam".⁴¹ But questions such as 'How prevalent was pluralism in Scotland?', 'Which dioceses were worst affected by pluralism?', and 'Which benefices were held most often in plurality?' have not been addressed.

Again this defect can probably be explained by the paucity of local ecclesiastical sources from which to draw conclusions. Nevertheless, it is possible to address the issue of pluralism in greater depth than hitherto, albeit partially. From the supplications alone much information about pluralism can be found. There are three main types of information. Firstly, there are supplications in which a cleric declares himself already to be the holder of more than one benefice. Often the cleric will mention that he has been dispensed to hold these benefices. Secondly there are numerous supplications which request dispensations to hold two or more incompatible benefices: indeed such supplications amount to approximately 18% of the total. It is important to note that these dispensations often had a time limit of a specific number of years attached, although extensions to this could be sought.⁴² Thirdly there are supplications which request that a cleric be deprived of possession of a benefice due to his breaking of the constitution *Execrabilis*.

Clerics who held multiple benefices include Giles Boyce who declared himself to be the holder of two vicarages (in the dioceses of Moray and St Andrews respectively)

⁴¹ A Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469*, The New History of Scotland III (London, 1984), 96

⁴² 'According to rules of Chancery a supplication signed *fiat ut petitur* in favour of a simple priest seeking dispensation to hold incompatibles was interpreted to mean a dispensation for two years to hold two incompatibles only. Graduates and the nobly born received a more extensive dispensation.'; *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-1422*, edd E R Lindsay and A I Cameron, Scottish History Society, third series, XXIII (Edinburgh, 1934), xviii note 1

and three cathedral benefices in Aberdeen diocese in 1481, at a time when he had also been litigating anent the cantorship of Moray.⁴³ Another example is that of John Spalding, 'counsellor and confessor of the king of Scots, minister of his chapel royal', who had been dispensed, in 1467, to hold with the deanery of Brechin, the vicarage of Dundee in Brechin diocese and the parish church of Kinnell in St Andrews diocese for three years at the time when he was the king's candidate for the bishopric of Dunblane. In November 1470 Spalding sought an extension of the dispensation for life but was granted a year's extension to hold either the parish church or vicarage of Kinnell along with the deanery and the other benefices for life.⁴⁴

The benefices of a pluralist could all be in the same diocese, though, as is evidenced by Robert Fairweather's holding of the rectory of Bass, the vicarage of Perth, and a pension on the vicarage of Kinglassie, and his desire to obtain provision to the priory of Dunbog. All four of these benefices were in St Andrews diocese.⁴⁵ From the evidence in the supplications it would appear that the phenomenon of pluralism involving benefices within the one diocese may have been more common in the diocese of Glasgow. The examples include Gilbert Maxwell's supplication for

⁴³ Supp. Nos. 783, 784. For Giles Boyce, cardinal familiar, see also above, pages 79-83, 96-9

⁴⁴ Supp. No. 1461. The result clause states: *Fiat de alteri anno ultra post lapsum dicti trienii alteram ex ecclesia de Kynell vel vicaria predictis quam maluerit unacum decanatu predicto et reliqua illarum quo ad vixerit*. The identification of the benefice *Kynell* is problematic since there were in St Andrews dioceses two parish churches with similar names - Kinneil and Kinnell. For further details of Spalding's career, see pages 200-201 below; D E R Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, second draft, Scottish Record Society, New Series I (Edinburgh, 1969), 44, 46, 77, 333-4

⁴⁵ Supp. No. 815

provision to the parish church of Dumfries on 20 May 1474. Maxwell was vicar of Annan and had received dispensation to hold two incompatibles. He claimed that the parish church of Dumfries was vacant due to the contravention of the constitution *Execrabilis* by Roger Carruthers who, at that time, was holding the benefice along with the parish church of Mouswald.⁴⁶ Further examples are that of Andrew Painter, the king's physician and future bishop of Orkney, who held the rectory of Biggar and the vicarage of Kirkbean by virtue of a dispensation to hold two incompatibles and John Bickerton, rector of Kirkgunzeon, who sought verification of his presentation to the perpetual vicarage of Inverkip in July 1483.⁴⁷

In the supplications under review, around 24-29% of clerical supplicants sought dispensation to hold incompatible benefices. These figures take into consideration eight clerics for whom either the king or a cardinal supplicated that they be permitted to contravene canonical regulations.⁴⁸ *Figure 8* depicts the diocesan distribution of benefices which were associated with clerics at the time when they desired to be dispensed to hold incompatible benefices. In this instance association specifically denotes benefices which were held, or where provision was being verified, or over which litigation had or was taking place (implying a legal right in the benefice).⁴⁹ The table shows that just under one third of these benefices were in the diocese of St Andrews and that approximately 27.5% were in Glasgow diocese. Benefices in

⁴⁶ Supp. No. 185. Carruthers had been holding the two benefices 'without dispensation for more than six months but less than a year'.

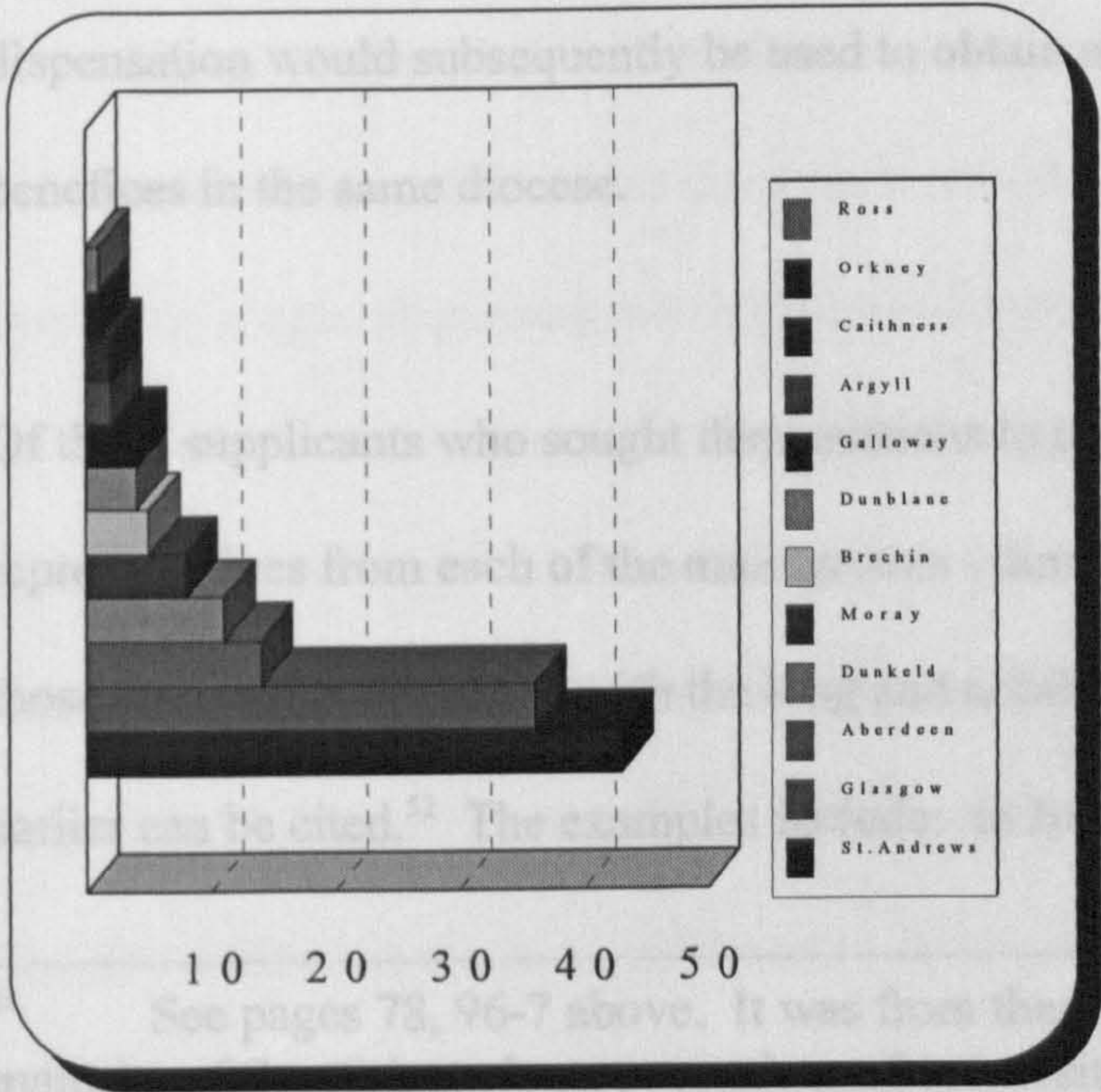
⁴⁷ Supp. Nos. 390, 931

⁴⁸ There are 185 new person id numbers and 164 link id numbers which translates to 23.9% and 28.7% of the new person id and link id clerical supplicants populations respectively.

⁴⁹ Denoted respectively by the codes H ,V and LIT in the Relatio table.

Aberdeen diocese account for about 10-11% of the total. Thus around 70% of benefices held by potential or actual pluralists were in these three dioceses. At the other end of the scale the low figures for the dioceses of Argyll, Caithness, Orkney and Ross are apparent while the non-appearance of that of Sodor or the Isles is noticeable.⁵⁰

Figure 8 - Diocesan distribution of benefices associated with clerics seeking dispensation to hold incompatibles



⁵⁰ The figures for the remaining dioceses are approximately: 8% for Dunkeld, 6% for Moray, 4% for Brechin, 3% for Dunblane, 3% for Galloway, 1.5% for Argyll, 1.5% for Caithness, 0.8% for Orkney, and 0.8% for Ross.

The interpretation of these figures poses a problem. Firstly, taking them at face value, one could state that pluralism was more widespread in the larger dioceses such as St Andrews and Glasgow. Interestingly, the three highest figures are for these two dioceses plus Aberdeen which tended to be the dioceses of origin of familiars of cardinals and of the pope.⁵¹ However, as was seen from benefice-holding patterns of such clerics, the benefices they can be associated with were often scattered in different dioceses. The general conclusion must be that clerics who possessed benefices in these three dioceses were more likely to seek dispensation to hold incompatibles but it remains far from certain whether the dispensation would subsequently be used to obtain another benefice or other benefices in the same diocese.

Of those supplicants who sought dispensations to hold incompatibles, representatives from each of the main groups - familiars of the pope and cardinals, those who had connections with the king and nobility, and graduates - discussed earlier can be cited.⁵² The examples include: in July 1473, Alain, cardinal bishop of

⁵¹ See pages 78, 96-7 above. It was from these three dioceses also that the majority of Scottish students at continental universities (such as Paris, Louvain, and Cologne) originated. 'The printed records (which, although incomplete, are the only available evidence) testify that the diocese of Glasgow had, after St Andrews, the largest representation at Paris, and that Aberdeen came next; while at Louvain and Cologne Aberdeen surpassed Glasgow': A I Cameron, 'Scottish Students at Paris University, 1466-1492', *Juridical Review* XLVIII (1936), 249. Leslie Macfarlane provides details of the diocesan distribution of the origins of Scots in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Paris in the period from 1425 to 1494. Of 253 Scottish students, '121 were known to have come from the diocese of St Andrews, 47 from Glasgow, 39 from Aberdeen, 14 from Brechin, 8 each from Candida Casa (Whithorn) and Moray, 5 from Ross, 4 from Dunkeld, 2 from Caithness and 1 from Dunblane.': Leslie J Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514*, quincentenary edition (Aberdeen, 1995), 363

⁵² See above, pages 78-83, 96-110, 118-36, 144-51

Sabina, requested that James Money Penny be granted dispensation to be promoted to holy orders and to hold two incompatible benefices with cure for life, despite suffering from defects of birth and age; John Edwardson, vicar of Fishwick in St Andrews diocese requested, in 1471, that he might hold another incompatible benefice along with his vicarage, or without it two incompatibles, for life; and the graduate Martin Wan sought a richer grace concerning the holding of compatible and incompatible benefices in 1473.⁵³

However, there were other supplicants who do not fall into these categories but who, nevertheless, sought the privilege. For example, in October 1475 James *Doless*, who held the chaplaincy of St James the apostle in Holy Trinity parish church in St Andrews, sought dispensation to hold another incompatible benefice together with it, or without it two incompatibles, for life.⁵⁴ In July 1476 a similar dispensation was sought by John *Chainnes* who held the vicarage of Yell in the diocese of Orkney, the fruits of which were stated to be six merks sterling.⁵⁵ A third example is that of Alexander Scrymgeour, chaplain of the altar of St James in the parish church of Dundee in Brechin diocese. In March 1478 Scrymgeour sought dispensation to hold two other incompatible benefices along with his chaplaincy.⁵⁶

⁵³ Supp. Nos. 140, 8, 115. Edwardson had connections with the king while Martin Wan was secretary of the duke of Albany in the period.

⁵⁴ Supp. No. 298

⁵⁵ Supp. No. 366. The name of the vicarage appears as *Zarle* in Dunlop's calendar. A calendared papal letter dated 1 March 1477, which appears to correspond with the supplication, gives the names as *Zaile* and John *Chaumer*; *CPR*, XIII, 569

⁵⁶ Supp. No. 578

The contravention of the constitution *Execrabilis* was one of a number of reasons for which a cleric was deemed to be worthy of deprivation from a benefice.⁵⁷

Supplications which relate to this aspect of deprivation often reveal information about the length of time that the benefices were held together unlawfully. For example, on 25 April 1474 James *Plendinaris*, a priest from the diocese of St Andrews, supplicated for provision to the perpetual vicarage of Cramond in Dunkeld diocese which he claimed was vacant due to the fact that Duncan Yellowlock had 'held it along with the vicarage of Crawford-Lindsay for a year and more without canonical dispensation, against the constitution *Execrabilis*'.⁵⁸ In 1476, it was declared to the pope that Robert *Leis*, while he was vicar of Dreghorn in Glasgow diocese, had obtained the parish church of Logie[-Atheron] in Dunblane diocese and had then 'held both for more than three years but less than four'.⁵⁹

Disputes and litigation over benefices

In a system which allowed for two or more clerics to be provided to the same benefice, whether it be multiple candidates provided by the pope or opposing candidates with papal and ordinary provisions, it is not surprising that disputes occurred. Although a substantial number of these disputes resulted in litigation in the Rota in Rome, it is worth noting that evidence also exists in the supplications of disputes which had occurred at diocesan level. These are exemplified particularly by instances in which the ordinary refused to admit the presentation of a cleric made by

⁵⁷ For other reasons concerning deprivation, see page 209 below

⁵⁸ Supp. No. 173

⁵⁹ Supp. No. 346

the patron of the benefice. In the supplications under review, there are thirteen which concern refusals of this nature.⁶⁰ These affected twelve benefices, five of which were in St Andrews diocese: the rectory of Dunlappie, the vicarages of Longforgan, Auldcathy, and Kilmany, and the provostry of the collegiate church of Dunglass.⁶¹ It is notable that all five cases relate to the time of the (archi)episcopate of Patrick Graham.

The presentation to the rectory of Dunlappie is especially interesting. The benefice was in lay patronage with the earls of Angus and Rothes enjoying the right of patronage in alternate turns. Some time before 6 February 1471 the earl of Angus (a member of the Douglas kin) had presented Hugh Douglas, who was 'of royal stock', to the bishop of St Andrews but the latter had refused to admit the presentation. Instead the bishop had made collation of the benefice to Thomas Kennedy who was presumably a kinsman.⁶² Hugh Douglas was also related to the bishop, however. It would appear that he was the same Hugh Douglas who was related to the king in third and third degrees of consanguinity and who was also a nephew of the late James Kennedy, uncle of Graham and his predecessor as bishop.⁶³ Thus, the

⁶⁰ Supp. Nos. 1478, 1497, 1513, 41, 249, 264, 379, 382, 427, 460, 632, 685, 811

⁶¹ The last three examples have been mentioned elsewhere. See page 135 above. The benefices affected in other dioceses were as follows: the canonry and prebend of Rathven, the canonry and prebend of Philorth, and the vicarage of Cruden in Aberdeen diocese; the vicarage of Robertson in Glasgow diocese; the rectory of Wigtown in Galloway or Candida Casa diocese; the provostry of the collegiate church of Guthrie in Brechin diocese; and the chaplaincy of Forgandenny in the diocese of Dunkeld.

⁶² Supp. No. 1497

⁶³ Supp. Nos. 493, 504. The familial connections between the two rival candidates, Douglas and Kennedy, and the bishop can be traced back to the marriages of Mary Stewart, daughter of King Robert III. Mary's first marriage was to the earl of Angus and it must be from this line of descent that Hugh Douglas

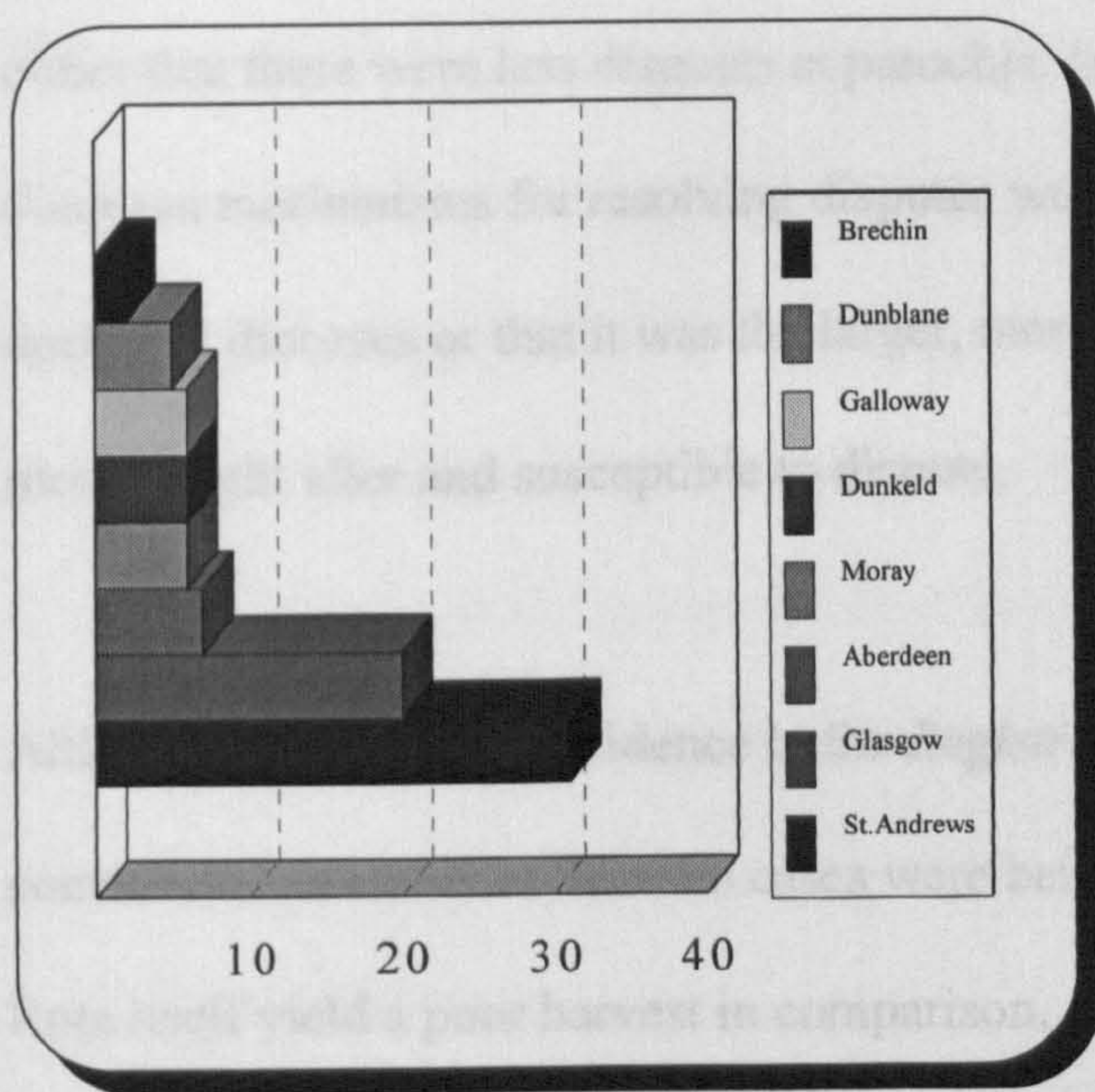
motivations of the bishop would seem to have been coloured by family considerations.

Most of the evidence concerning disputes in the supplications, though, relates to litigation cases either *in partibus* or in Rome itself. In terms of Scottish benefices the following figures for each diocese indicate benefices which were formally litigated over, largely in Rome before one of the auditors of causes in the Rota. It should be noted that the judicial court of the Rota was not only an appeal court from lesser courts in the provinces, but it was available to hear cases from the first instance. *Figure 9* below depicts the diocesan distribution of benefices affected by litigation. There were 31 benefices in St Andrews, about two-thirds of which were vicarages and rectories, and nine were religious houses (including one hospital). The figure for Glasgow is 20 of which thirteen were rectories and vicarages, and six were canonries and prebends. The figures for the remaining dioceses with disputed benefices are 7 for Aberdeen, 6 for Moray, 6 for Dunkeld, 6 for Candida Casa or Galloway, 5 for Dunblane, and 2 for Moray. In Aberdeen diocese it is predominantly cathedral dignities and canonries and prebends that feature, as is the case in Moray. For the dioceses of Dunkeld and Candida Casa or Galloway it is

originated - the degrees of consanguinity relating Douglas to King James III and the fact that Douglas is described as a nephew of Bishop James Kennedy suggest that Douglas was a grandson of Mary. The second marriage of Mary was to James Kennedy of Dunure; a younger son being Bishop James Kennedy. The third marriage was to Sir William Graham of Kincardine. The eldest child of this union was Robert Graham of Fintry, father of Patrick Graham, bishop and archbishop of St Andrews. See John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay, *The Archbishops of St Andrews I* (Edinburgh and London, 1907), 12. Thus it is suggested that the refusal by Patrick Graham to accept the presentation of Hugh Douglas of the Angus line of the family, in favour of Thomas Kennedy, presumably of the Kennedy line of the family, must reflect some tension between the disparate branches.

parochial churches that predominate. For Dunblane and Brechin no generalisation can be made. With regard to religious houses, the majority were of the Augustinian order.⁶⁴

Figure 9 - Diocesan distribution of benefices affected by litigation



There is a striking resemblance between the proportion of benefice types in the dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Moray evidenced here and in those seen earlier in the *Nova Provisio* supplications category. The preponderance of parochial churches in the former two dioceses in contrast to the emphasis on

⁶⁴ Huisdean Duff discusses the history of Augustinian houses in his M.Litt. thesis. The third section of this thesis relates to the headships of the houses and includes discussion on fifteenth century provision disputes. See H A M Duff, *op. cit.*

cathedral benefices in the latter two could suggest either that the mechanisms for dealing with parochial disputes were working less efficiently in the former two dioceses or that these two dioceses with greater numbers of parochial churches offered the best opportunities for clerics who were associated with the papal court (whether as temporary or more permanent residents). On the other hand the emphasis on cathedral benefices in the latter two dioceses would seem to indicate either that there were less disputes at parochial level in these dioceses or that diocesan mechanisms for resolving disputes were more efficient in smaller, more northerly dioceses or that it was the larger, more prestigious benefices which were more sought after and susceptible to dispute.

Although there is much evidence in the *Registra Supplicationum* to suggest that a considerable number of Scottish cases were being heard in Rome, the archives of the Rota itself yield a poor harvest in comparison. Seemingly, only about one-seventh of the Rota records have survived so this would probably explain the low level of correspondence between the two sources. The records from the Rota are only extant from 1464 but for not one Scottish case can the documents be found in their entirety. From surveying this material, James Robertson has noted that between 1464 and 1500 there were at least 104 Scottish cases, 101 of which concerned disputed provisions to benefices. The diocesan distribution of these 101 cases is as follows: 31 for St Andrews, 24 for Glasgow, 8 for Dunblane, 7 for Aberdeen, 7 for Dunkeld, 7 for Ross, 5 for Brechin, 5 for Galloway, 3 for Moray, 3 for Caithness, and one for Argyll or Lismore. The dioceses of Orkney and Sodor or the Isles are absent.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ J J Robertson, 'The Development of the Law', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 151

However, refining this further, from a survey of the Rota material for solely the 1470-84 period, the dioceses of Brechin, Caithness, Ross, Argyll or Lismore, Sodor or the Isles, and Orkney are absent.⁶⁶

Supplications which are concerned with litigation comprise one of the most frequent types. These supplications fall mainly into three categories: *Si Neutri* or *Si Nulli*; *Surrogatio*; and *Cessio*. Broadly speaking, the categories can be defined as follows.

In supplications of the first category of *Si Neutri* or *Si Nulli*, the supplicant is usually one of the litigants who describes the case and what stage it has reached (for example, whether or not any sentences have been passed) and then states that it has been alleged that neither or none of the collitigants has any right in the benefice.

Therefore the supplicant seeks that the situation be investigated and if found to be true that he be provided to the benefice. The second category of *Surrogatio*

supplications involves a supplicant desiring to be surrogated to the right of a litigant who has died in the course of litigation and also that he be provided to the benefice.

The *Cessio* type concern cases in which one or both of the parties resign all right they have to the benefice and one of them or another party seeks provision.

Supplications of the *Cessio* type can involve the payment of a pension on the fruits of the benefice to the party who has ceded his right but it should be noted, though, that not all supplications of the type *Cessio* involve litigation.

⁶⁶ Collation with the supplications, though, would remove Brechin from this last list. I am grateful to Mr James Robertson of the Faculty of Law, University of Dundee, for providing me with index material relating to Rota cases.

The *surrogatio* device is particularly important as it often led to the lengthening of cases rather than the ending of them. This was a direct result of the benefice being regarded conceptually in the same manner as non-ecclesiastical property. Part of the rationale behind the device was that if two litigants claimed the right to a benefice and one of them died during the course of litigation, then it was not considered to be a just settlement should the benefice be bestowed upon the other litigant since that would be a matter of luck rather than justice. The right to the benefice of the deceased litigant had still to be considered and a verdict reached judicially.⁶⁷ This explains why it was possible for other clerics, including those who may not even have been associated with the benefice before, to request to be surrogated in the right of the deceased litigant.

At first sight it would appear that, in some cases, disputes appear to have been resolved relatively amicably with some agreement - often involving the payment of a pension to the cleric who had resigned his right to the benefice - being reached between the adversaries in order to avoid costly litigation. For example, in October 1479, John Whitelaw ceded his right to the rectory of Eassie in St Andrews diocese in return for a pension of 20 merks Scots from the fruits which were valued at 80 merks Scots to be paid by William Oliphant. The agreement had been reached 'for the good of peace and concord etc. and to avoid labours and expenses' since 'it was feared that a suit would arise'.⁶⁸ There was more to this than a gentlemanly agreement, however, as both Whitelaw and Oliphant had been previously involved in litigation over the benefice in the Rota.

⁶⁷ G Barraclough, *op. cit.*, 78-9

⁶⁸ Supp. No. 711. See also Supp. No. 706

Indeed Whitelaw's interest in the benefice can be dated to over four years before the pension agreement. On 8 April 1475 he had supplicated to the pope to be provided to the rectory which he claimed was vacant due to the death of Hugh *Trevinox*.⁶⁹

Between then and some time before 18 January 1479 he was involved in litigation in the Rota against George Hunter who appears to have been in possession of the benefice. By the latter date Hunter was dead and so Whitelaw sought surrogation to Hunter's right in the benefice, and provision.⁷⁰ However, on the death of Hunter, William Oliphant had gained provision to the rectory by virtue of an expectative grace and had possessed it for a few days. The provision was appealed against by William Wallace but he died while the suit was pending, some time before 17 February 1479.⁷¹ In April of that year, though, a suit was pending in first instance between Oliphant and Gavin *Wache* who was in possession of the rectory.⁷²

Oliphant ultimately emerged as the benefice-holder as seen by the aforementioned pension agreement made later that year. He still appears to have been in possession of the rectory in January 1482, at which time he was involved in litigation anent the cantorship of Moray.⁷³

Not only did Oliphant litigate over the rectory of Eassie and the cantorship of Moray during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, he also appears as a litigant anent the vicarage of Bathgate in St Andrews diocese. In contrast to his success over the Eassie benefice, however, it was Oliphant who became a pensioner with a pension payable from the

⁶⁹ Supp. No. 227

⁷⁰ Supp. No. 639

⁷¹ Supp. No. 652

⁷² Supp. No. 669

⁷³ Supp. No. 805

fruits of the Bathgate vicarage. Previous to this the benefice fruits had already been diminished by another pension which had been paid in order to avoid formal litigation. In total there were at least three litigation cases in the *curia* concerning the vicarage of Bathgate which are mentioned in the supplications. From collation with papal letters a partial reconstruction can be made. On 7 and 8 January 1466 Pope Paul II gave mandates for collation to the vicarage of Bathgate to two different clerics. On the former date mandate was given to collate and assign the benefice to James Inglis who had claimed that the vicarage was vacant due to a resignation made by John Ralston to Patrick, bishop of St Andrews.⁷⁴ The latter mandate was to John *de Yruosz* who had been presented by the abbot of Newbattle (as patron of the benefice) to David Ramsay, prior of St Andrews and vicar in spirituals, who had refused to provide him by ordinary authority. John *de Yruosz* had claimed, though, that John Ralston had resigned the benefice into the hands of the late James, bishop of St Andrews.⁷⁵ Three years later, in April 1469, the same pope provided Andrew Pettigrew to the vicarage. Pettigrew had been presented by the abbot of Newbattle to Patrick, bishop of St Andrews who had refused to institute him.⁷⁶ From this it would appear that there was conflict at diocesan level between the bishop and the patron of the benefice.

Some time prior to 10 April 1472 there had been litigation in the Rota between James Inglis and Andrew Pettigrew.⁷⁷ Matthew *Patok* was also in opposition to

⁷⁴ *CPR*, XII, 456

⁷⁵ *ibid.*, 469

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, 314

⁷⁷ A John Pettigrew appears in later supplications and letters as a litigant against James Inglis but it is not clear whether or not this was the same cleric as Andrew Pettigrew. See *CPR*, XIII, 459; Supp. Nos. 287, 309, 309.1

Inglis. Pettigrew had died before this date and *Patok* had resigned by November 1472.⁷⁸ James Inglis had died in the Roman Court having 'carried off one or more definitive sentences for himself and against adversaries and letters executorial thereanent' but without having had possession of the benefice.⁷⁹ After his death John Bayn, a continual commensal familiar of Oliver, cardinal priest of St Eusebius, had gained a papal mandate of collation dated 6 September 1473.⁸⁰ Bayn, however, had also died without possession after being involved in litigation against an unnamed adversary.⁸¹ Following Bayn's death (before the end of September 1475), the papal and cardinal familiar, William Marshall had been provided by the pope but appears to have resigned his right just over a week later. On 9 October 1475 Gilbert Young sought provision to the vicarage but on 25 November 1475 William Oliphant also sought provision due to the resignation of William Marshall.⁸²

Gilbert Young was to decline from further involvement in the benefice but his connection with William Marshall is worthy of comment. On 1 December 1475 both Marshall, as rector of Forteviot, and Young supplicated that 'the pope grant to Gilbert in remuneration and recompense of services rendered by him to William, and also that he may be bound to pray for the soul of William, an annual pension of £10 of money current in Scotland (which equals 15 ducats gold of Camera)'.⁸³ Although Marshall was not able to gain possession of the rectory of Forteviot which, as was

⁷⁸ Supp. Nos. 48, 80

⁷⁹ Supp. Nos. 309, 309.1

⁸⁰ *CPR*, XIII, 353

⁸¹ Supp. No. 279

⁸² Supp. Nos. 279, 287, 309

⁸³ Supp. No. 310

seen earlier, the king was keen that it be provided to John Lyle, his physician,⁸⁴ the situation poses a number of questions. What was the relationship between Marshall and Young? Both were from the diocese of Glasgow and from the pension agreement it would appear that Young had been working for him - perhaps looking after his interests in Scotland? The pension agreement drawn up so soon after Young's abortive attempt to gain effective provision to the vicarage of Bathgate suggests that Marshall had sought provision to the vicarage with the intention of resigning it so that Young could be provided. This theory is supported by the short space of time between Marshall's provision to the benefice and his subsequent resignation. Thus it seems that a Scottish resident of the *curia*, who is known to have acted as a procurator on behalf of other Scottish clerics, used his influence directly to acquire benefices for clients. Indeed this apparent client-patron relationship mirrors the reciprocal nature of those between the familiars and pope and cardinals discussed in the previous chapter.⁸⁵

To return to the vicarage of Bathgate. Although Young disappeared from the contest, William Oliphant was not assured of possession. A rival emerged in the form of David Hamilton who had been provided by ordinary authority before 13 August 1476. Hamilton had managed to gain possession of the benefice and appease another contender, John Lockhart (who was said to have been 'provided by apostolic or ordinary authority') by agreeing to pay him a pension of 10 merks Scots or £3 sterling from the benefice fruits which were valued at £14 sterling.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ See page 79 above

⁸⁵ See above, pages 71-117, *passim*

⁸⁶ Supp. No. 375. See also Supp. No. 384

The final stage of the series of disputes in the period was litigation in the Rota between Oliphant and Hamilton. On 29 December 1477, while the suit was pending in first instance, Oliphant resigned his right in return for a pension of £3 sterling from the benefice fruits which were then valued at £9 sterling. The supplication of that date mentions the annual pension which had been reserved to Lockhart - but states that it was 11 merks Scots.⁸⁷ On 2 January 1478 Hamilton sought provision from the pope and later that month appears as the benefice holder when he sought dispensation to hold a second incompatible benefice.⁸⁸ Four years later, in January 1482, Oliphant still appears to be a recipient of a pension from the vicarage.⁸⁹

These cases have served to illustrate the time-scale and complications which were involved in litigation, specifically, and in benefice-holding, more generally. The subject of litigation is potentially vast and there is a demand for collation of both supplications (and indeed papal letters and Cameral material) with the extant Rota sources which provide information concerning witnesses, and, of course, their evidence. Two features in particular which have emerged quite prominently, just from evidence in the supplications, and which are worthy of greater consideration, are the relatively large number of clerics who were involved in more than one litigation case and the fact that a large proportion of cases appear to have resulted in the awarding of pensions to the vanquished contenders. This had obvious financial

⁸⁷ Supp. No. 538 in which an alternative value of £12 Scots is given for the pension payable to Oliphant. Two further supplications (duplicate in essence) dated 12 January 1478 and 28 February 1478 have the values 12 merks Scots or £3 sterling for Oliphant's pension and 10 merks Scots for Lockart's pension; Supp. Nos. 543.1, 568

⁸⁸ Supp. Nos. 542, 549

⁸⁹ Supp. Nos. 805, 808

implications for the successful claimant to the benefice. Accordingly some details of the correlation between litigants and pensions will be discussed in the next section.

Pensions

Swanson has stressed the importance of economic factors in any assessment of clerical career patterns. Among the factors which demand consideration, he lists pensions, demands for first fruits, and variations in population.⁹⁰ In this section the first of these factors will be considered. Pensions are especially worth examining since the practice of purchasing pensions at the *curia* was particularly condemned in the so-called barratry legislation of fifteenth century Scottish parliaments.

Legislation passed in 1424, 1427 and 1428 during the reign of James I 'was aimed at stopping this practice of 'purchasing pensions' and more generally at controlling the flow of clerics or their agents to the Roman court'.⁹¹ The legislation was largely ineffective and during the reign of James III it was repeated.⁹²

Supplicants from Scotland supplicated to be assigned pensions or mentioned they had pensions from the fruits of seventy different benefices: 29 in St Andrews

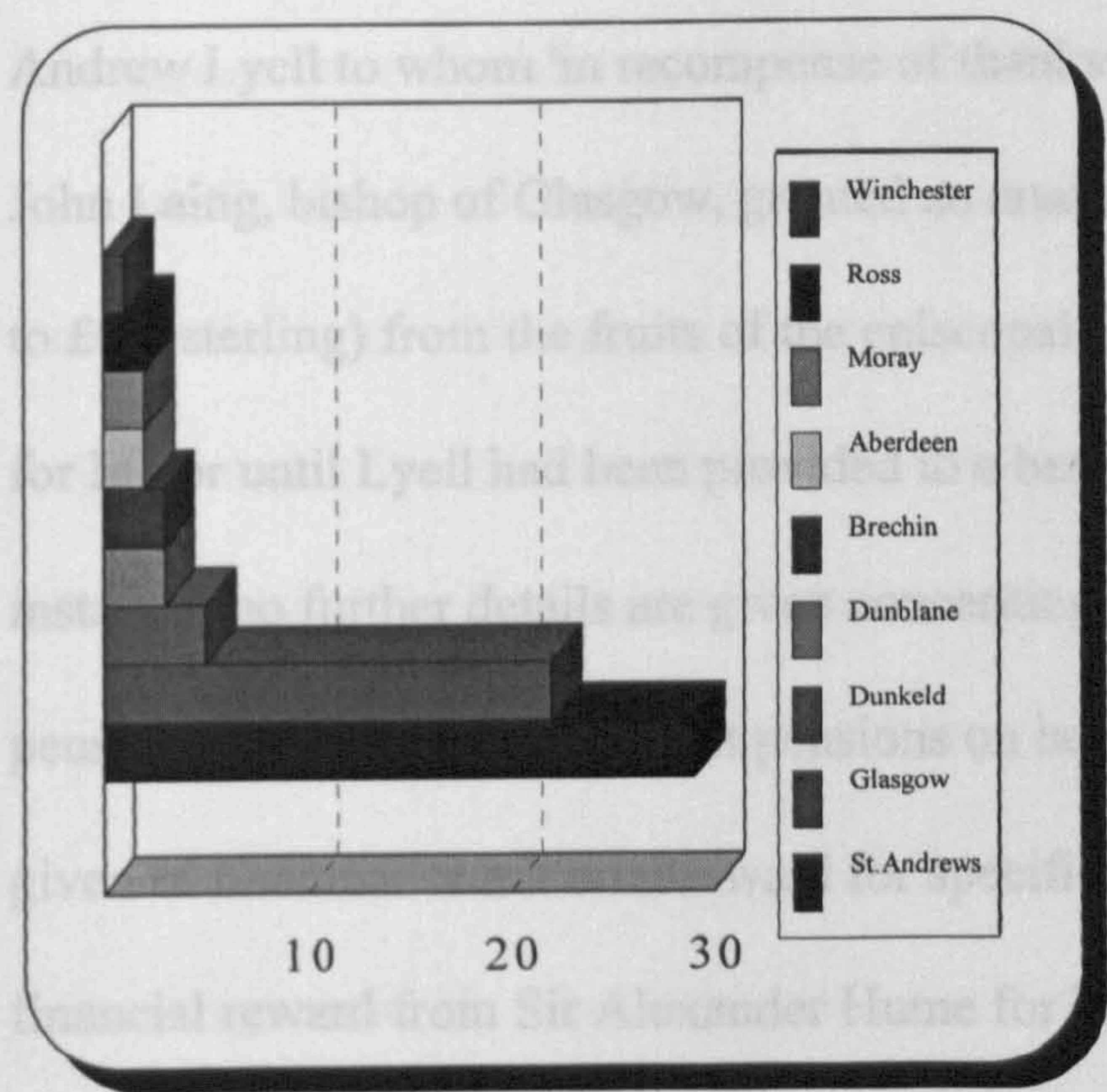
⁹⁰ R N Swanson, 'Standards of Livings: Parochial Revenues in Pre-Reformation England', in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion III, ed C Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1991), 179

⁹¹ D E R Watt, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 121; R Nicholson, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, Edinburgh History of Scotland II (Edinburgh, 1989), 294

⁹² *ibid.*, 432; I B Cowan, 'Patronage, Provision and Reservation: Pre-Reformation Appointments to Scottish Benefices', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, edd I B Cowan and D Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 82

diocese, 22 in Glasgow, 6 in Dunkeld, 3 in Dunblane, 3 in Brechin, 2 in Aberdeen, 2 in Moray, 2 in Ross and one in the English diocese of Winchester. *Figure 10* below highlights the distribution. In St Andrews diocese just over one half of the benefices were parochial with the remainder being connected with religious houses and collegiate churches. In Glasgow diocese one half of the benefices were parochial, eight were cathedral and three were connected with religious houses. The values of the pensions as a proportion of the benefice fruits varies - the figure can be as low as 5% or greater than 50%, but it is usually around one quarter or one third.⁹³

Figure 10 - Diocesan distribution of benefices with pensions



⁹³ This assessment relates to cases where the currency denominations of the pension and the benefice fruits given in the supplication are the same. Important factors to recognise in relation to calculating values are the effect of fluctuations in exchange rates and inflation, and multiple pensions on the same benefice.

The pensions (on benefice revenues) which are mentioned in the supplications can be divided into three main categories: pensions in return for services rendered; pensions awarded as a result of the resignation or exchange of benefices; and pension agreements connected with disputes and litigation. This latter category can be subdivided further into agreements made in order to avoid formal litigation and agreements made after formal litigation. Examples from the first two categories will be cited briefly, but since the last category is the one about which most information is available, it will be discussed at greater length.

An example from the first category was seen in the previous section with the pension award to Gilbert Young from William Marshall.⁹⁴ A further example is that of Andrew Lyell to whom 'in recompense of thanksworthy services rendered to him', John Laing, bishop of Glasgow, granted an annual pension of £20 Scots (equivalent to £6½ sterling) from the fruits of the episcopal mensa. This pension was to be paid for life or until Lyell had been provided to a benefice valued at £40 Scots.⁹⁵ In these instances no further details are given concerning the reasons for the award of the pensions. Although they are not pensions on benefices, a couple of examples can be given of financial or material reward for specific services. John Edwardson's financial reward from Sir Alexander Hume for his service as *syndic* for the prior and convent of Coldingham has been noted above.⁹⁶ A supplication of 18 April 1476 relates to expectative graces granted to Richard *Stratan*, Giles Boyce and Thomas Chalmer 'at the instance of the lords of the Apostolic Camera in remuneration of

⁹⁴ See pages 192-3 above

⁹⁵ Supp. No. 459

⁹⁶ See page 127 above

some of the labours and service of Alexander Preston . . . and of his accomplices at the mandate of the late Pope Nicholas V and rendered against perfidious Turks and most cruel enemies of the Christian religion in Turkey by Alexander and his associates . . .⁹⁷

In the supplications under review there are a few instances in which a pension was awarded following a resignation of a benefice by the holder. The example of James Ogilvie's resignation of the provostry of St Salvator's collegiate church in return for a pension has already been discussed.⁹⁸ Resignations could be made for the exchange of benefices rather than just a simple resignation. In situations in which the benefices were of unequal value, a pension agreement could be negotiated to compensate the cleric who received the benefice of lesser value. For example, on 20 May 1477, John Motherwell, vicar of Eastwood in Glasgow diocese, and John Goldsmith, rector of the parish church of St Mary in Arran in Sodor diocese, resigned their benefices into the hands of the pope for the sake of exchange.⁹⁹ Mandate was given by the pope for the new collations. However, since the vicarage was of a greater value, on 10 June 1477 Motherwell supplicated that he be reserved an annual pension of six chalders of meal - equivalent to no more than one third of the vicarage fruits.¹⁰⁰ Similarly in October 1483, John *Eklis*, perpetual vicar of Earlston in St Andrews diocese, and John Lawson, perpetual vicar of Wiston in Glasgow diocese, desiring to exchange benefices, supplicated that the pope would give licence for the exchange and would reserve an annual pension of one third of

⁹⁷ Supp. No. 342

⁹⁸ See page 141 above

⁹⁹ Supp. No. 478

¹⁰⁰ Supp. No. 480

the fruits of the vicarage of Earlston to John *Eklis* lest he 'should suffer by this exchange'. The St Andrews benefice was valued at £9 sterling whereas the Glasgow benefice was valued at only £7 sterling.¹⁰¹

The most common types of pension agreement appear to have been either to avoid litigation or as a result of litigation. Results show that of the benefices involving some form of litigation or dispute approximately 35-40% have pensions associated with them and that approximately one-half of benefices with pensions are at some time in the period connected with litigation or dispute. It is, however, the individual people who are the determinant in judging the likelihood of litigation resulting in pension agreements. There were around 73 clerics who were, or who supplicated to become pensioners. Of this group, 39 were also litigants during the period.¹⁰² Eight of these 39 were involved in litigation anent more than one benefice and five of the 39 appear to have had more than one pension. Furthermore of the 39 clerics, 30 received a pension from the benefice, or one of the benefices being litigated anent. This also implies that a substantial number of pensions were the direct result of litigation.

Pension arrangements which had arisen out of disputed rights to benefices could be fairly complex. By August 1476 John Lockhart had resigned into the hands of the ordinary the treasurership of Dunblane in favour of William Elphinstone (later to become bishop of Aberdeen).¹⁰³ In December 1476 Lockhart was supplicating for an

¹⁰¹ Supp. No. 956

¹⁰² This figure could possibly be reduced to about 35.

¹⁰³ D E R Watt, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, second draft (Edinburgh, 1969), 86; Supp. No. 372 in which Elphinstone is not named.

annual pension of £10 Scots or £4 sterling to be paid to him from the fruits of the rectory of Kirkmichael in Glasgow diocese which was held by Elphinstone.¹⁰⁴ However, when in August Lockhart had resigned he had done so at the instance of David Luthirdale so that Luthirdale could be promoted to the archdeaconry of Dunkeld. Luthirdale had been litigating with Elphinstone over this cathedral dignity.¹⁰⁵ By resigning the treasurership of Dunblane Lockhart not only received a pension from Elphinstone but also an annual pension of £10 *turonensium parvorum* from the parish church of Tealing in Dunkeld diocese which was held by Luthirdale.¹⁰⁶ Thus both Luthirdale and Elphinstone were able to hold their two cathedral dignities peaceably and Lockhart received pensions from them both.

The case of John Spalding and John Barry can be noted too. Spalding, who had been dispensed to hold the vicarage of Dundee in the diocese of Brechin along with the parish church or vicarage of Kinnell in St Andrews diocese and the deanery of Brechin for three years, was supplicating an extension for life of this dispensation in 1470.¹⁰⁷ In 1475 John Barry was seeking provision to the vicarage of Dundee claiming that John Spalding had been detaining it for many years along with the other two aforementioned benefices without further dispensation after the three year dispensation had lapsed.¹⁰⁸ Litigation then ensued.

John Lockhart is possibly the same cleric as the John Lockhart, claimant to the vicarage of Bathgate and pensioner (see page 193 above) but there is no definite link; see Supp. Nos. 372, 375

¹⁰⁴ Supp. No. 412

¹⁰⁵ D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 121

¹⁰⁶ Supp. No. 372

¹⁰⁷ Supp. No. 1461. See page 178 above

¹⁰⁸ Supp. No. 228

In a supplication of 1483 it emerges that Barry and Spalding were related - they are described as *consanguinei* - and that Barry had possessed the vicarage of Dundee for the eight years and more that they had been litigating. By this time Spalding was over 60 years old and 'had become totally destitute by his expenses'. Therefore he now sought a pension of £15 sterling or 100 merks Scots to be paid to him annually from the fruits of the vicarage of Dundee (£40 sterling) by Barry and his successors.¹⁰⁹ The pension still appears to have been a contentious issue years later. There is an entry in the protocol book of James Young for 8 November 1492 in which it is recorded that Thomas Stewart of Mynto who was acting as cessioner for John Spalding approached Andrew Barry, procurator of John Barry, vicar of Dundee, declaring that he should receive 80 merks of a pension from the parish church of Dundee and other sums regarding the pension which were due to Spalding.¹¹⁰

The proceedings were complicated further by the fact that by 1477 Barry was also supplicating to the pope for provision to the deanery of Brechin, also held by Spalding.¹¹¹ Spalding, though, retained possession as he resigned the deanery for the sake of exchange with Hugh Douglas for the precentorship of Brechin in 1487.¹¹² Barry, who had withdrawn all claim of right to the deanery in May 1487, was reserved a pension of £10 Scots from the deanery and £10 Scots from the perpetual vicarage of Forgan in St Andrews diocese.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Supp. No. 949

¹¹⁰ *Protocol Book of James Young 1485-1515*, edd H M Paton and G Donaldson, Scottish Record Society, (Edinburgh, 1945), 124 (no. 554)

¹¹¹ Supp. No. 473

¹¹² D E R Watt, *op.cit.*, 44, 46

¹¹³ *The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488*, ed A I Cameron

***Resignationes in favorem* and exchanges of benefices**

Resignations of benefices fall into two categories: they could be simple or more complex. By a simple resignation the cleric resigned the benefice or right in it with no arrangements for any future associations with the benefice. In a more complex arrangement, the cleric resigned the benefice or right in it either in favour of another cleric (often reserving a pension to himself) or for the sake of exchange.¹¹⁴ This section will concentrate on evidence in the supplications which pertains to the second of these categories. Examples will be given to illustrate practice.

Quantification of *resignationes in favorem* at the *curia* demands close scrutiny of the separate series of *Resignationes* registers, but unfortunately for most of this period there is a *lacuna* in this source.¹¹⁵

From the supplications a substantial proportion of examples of what would appear to be *resignationes in favorem* involve familial relationships between the clerics concerned. Examples include Alexander Scrymgeour, a litigant over the vicarage of Tarves in Aberdeen diocese who resigned all right to the benefice on 15 May 1472

(Oxford, 1934), 220; see also D E R Watt, *op.cit.*, 44

¹¹⁴ *Quand la résignation avait lieu sans arrière-pensée, elle était dite simple (simplex), et in favorem tertii quand il s'agissait d'un échange.*: G Mollat, *op. cit.*, col 435

¹¹⁵ The series of *Resignationes* registers consists of 295 volumes covering the period 1457-1594. Unfortunately among the early volumes there appears to be a *lacuna* between some time in 1470 and some time in 1482. See L E Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972), 47; I B Cowan, 'The Vatican Archives - A Report on pre-reformation Scottish material', *SIIR* XLVIII (1969), 238. Entries for the British Isles from the series have been extracted and transcripts are available in the Public Record Office, London (PRO 31/9). Microfilm and an index of Scottish entries are available in the Scottish History Department at the University of Glasgow.

and along with a kinsman of his, also Alexander Scrymgeour, supplicated that his namesake be surrogated to his right in the cause or be provided (if it was found that neither of the litigants had right).¹¹⁶ On 23 November 1475 John Kennedy resigned the rectory of Dysart in St Andrews diocese which he possessed into the hands of the pope, and his brother Thomas Kennedy then sought provision.¹¹⁷ Likewise Alexander Ruch resigned the priory of Inchmahome in Dunblane diocese to which provision was sought for his brother german, John Ruch, in November 1479.¹¹⁸ The hospital of St Germain in St Andrews diocese was resigned by Patrick Piot in favour of his nephew Thomas Piot in 1476 and not long before his death in 1479 Alexander Rait, familiar of the pope, appears to have resigned his canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan in the diocese of Moray in favour of Alexander Rait 'the younger', a clerk from the diocese of Tournai and presumably a relative.¹¹⁹ An interesting example occurs in a supplication, dated 20 August 1482, which has the rubric *Resignatio pro pluribus*. William Turnbull, in his infirmity, had resigned the perpetual vicarages of Innerleithen and Colvend in Glasgow diocese together with a canonry and prebend in Dunkeld diocese. Following this James Turnbull, nephew of William, and Adam Turnbull, brother of William, supplicated to be provided to the canonry and prebend and the vicarage of Colvend respectively. On

¹¹⁶ Supp. No. 61

¹¹⁷ Supp. Nos. 306, 306.1

¹¹⁸ Supp. No. 718

¹¹⁹ Supp. Nos. 371, 714. Cf. Leslie J Macfarlane, *op. cit.*, 310 where Patrick Piot's resignation into the pope's hands and the supplication for Thomas Piot's provision is dated 10 December 1478 (from evidence in Aberdeen Old Charter Chest). There is no corresponding supplication of this date in Dunlop's calendar, however.

the same day Adam *Glandounwin* (or *Glendounwin*) sought provision to the vicarage of Innerleithen.¹²⁰

In a few of these instances it was mentioned that the resignation was made by the cleric when he was 'in his infirmity'. This would explain why provision or confirmation of provision was being sought by the clerk in whose favour the resignation had been made because a *resignatio in favorem* had no effect if the resigner was ill or died within twenty days of resigning the benefice.¹²¹ For example, Alexander Rait 'the younger' sought confirmation of the resignation of Alexander Rait 'the elder' and his own collation and provision to the canonry and prebend of Kinnoir and Dunbennan since the latter 'was in an infirm state at the time of said resignation and died thereafter *in partibus* within twenty days'.¹²²

The validity of Thomas Kennedy's provision to the rectory of Dysart after the resignation of John Kennedy in November 1475 was also put into jeopardy by this rule. John Kennedy was in an infirm state at the time of the resignation and died within twenty days. In February 1476 Thomas Kennedy thus sought confirmation of his provision to the benefice.¹²³ Thomas Kennedy appears to have been concerned about the validity of the resignation (which had been into the hands of the pope by a procurator) and his provision as early as 8 December 1475 on account of another

¹²⁰ Supp. No. 851. The canonry and prebend was that of Aberlady; *CPR*, XIII, 118

¹²¹ *Les résignations furent soumises à une réglementation sévère à partir du 23 avril 1397. Elles n'avaient nulle valeur si le résignant les effectuait durant le cours d'une maladie et s'il venait à décéder de celle-ci dans les vingt jours: G Mollat, op. cit., col 435*

¹²² Supp. No. 714

¹²³ Supp. No. 327

apostolic rule which stated that 'if resignations have not been published in the place of the benefice within six months and the resigner afterwards dies in possession of the benefice, such a benefice is held to be vacant not by resignation but by death'. Thomas Kennedy sought an extension of the term for six months since it was not possible for him to have the resignation published within the required time 'on account of the distance of the kingdom of Scotland and many dangers'.¹²⁴

Resignationes in favorem were not only made to benefit relatives. Barbara McClung Hallman notes that one method in which cardinals could gain bishoprics for their familiars was by direct resignations in their favour.¹²⁵ This practice, in connection with lesser benefices, appears to have permeated through the lower levels of client-patron relationships. William Marshall's apparent resignation of the vicarage of Bathgate in favour of Gilbert Young has been discussed above.¹²⁶

One important feature of *resignationes in favorem* was that a right of regress could be attached. This was particularly useful when a pension was reserved to the cleric who had resigned his benefice or right to it. The *regressus* device meant that the benefice could be restored to the cleric who had resigned it should the recipient of the resignation die or resign or fail to pay the pension.¹²⁷ It is possible that a right of

¹²⁴ Supp. No. 317. For an example of a provision made on account of a benefice being vacant through death rather than resignation since death had occurred within twenty days of the resignation, see Supp. No. 593 which has the rubric *Non per resignationem sed per obitum*.

¹²⁵ Barbara McClung Hallman, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property* (Berkeley, 1985), 101

¹²⁶ See pages 192-3 above

¹²⁷ For a description of the *regressus* device and examples of its use by prelates, see Barbara McClung Hallman, *op. cit.*, 34-35. See also I B Cowan, 'Patronage, Provision and Reservation: Pre-Reformation Appointments to Scottish Benefices',

regress was attached to Patrick Hume's resignation of the archdeaconry of Teviotdale in Glasgow diocese in September 1472. Hume had resigned the archdeaconry in favour of John Lichon and in return for a pension of a third of the fruits. However, on 5 October 1473 Hume was ready to consent to pay a pension to Pietro Antonio de Nardis from the fruits of the archdeaconry which he claimed to hold.¹²⁸ Perhaps by means of the *regressus* device, Hume had been able to reclaim the archdeaconry due to the failure of Lichon to pay the pension.

Resignations of benefices could also be made for the sake of exchange. In dispensations for the holding of incompatibles it appears to have been common for the grant to include 'the power of exchange'.¹²⁹ Licences for exchanges could also be sought. For example, in October 1472 Patrick Hume requested that the pope grant him faculty to resign all the benefices which he was currently holding or those which he would acquire in the future 'simply or for exchange'.¹³⁰ Similarly, in October 1475, George Abernethy sought confirmation of his indult from Pope Paul II concerning resignation 'simply or for exchange' of the rectory of Lasswade in St Andrews diocese.¹³¹ Exchanges occurred at all levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, edd I B Cowan and D Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 87-8; K J P Lowe, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy - The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453-1524)* (Cambridge, 1993), 176

¹²⁸ Supp. Nos. 68, 155. Annie I Dunlop's slip for the latter supplication states that de Nardis was a priest from the diocese of Terni. However, a papal letter which is dated 5 October 1474 and seems to refer to the same supplication, states that de Nardis was prior of the church of Terni; *CPR*, XIII, 45. He is described as prior in Supp. No. 660. See also D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 177. For the career of Patrick Hume, see above, pages 96-9, 103

¹²⁹ See, for example, Supp. Nos. 75, 77

¹³⁰ Supp. No. 78

¹³¹ Supp. No. 281

For example, Lowe writes of a threefold exchange (involving Cardinal Francesco Soderini) of bishoprics in Italy in 1514.¹³² A few examples of exchanges can be noted from the supplications.¹³³ In 1471 Patrick Young exchanged the archdeaconry of Galloway for the provostship of the collegiate church of Methven in St Andrews diocese with John Otterburn.¹³⁴ Adam Gordon and John *Davidis* wished to exchange their canonries and prebends of Banchory Devenick and Kinkell in Aberdeen diocese in June 1473.¹³⁵ Subsequently, *Davidis* desired to exchange the canonry and prebend of Banchory Devenick with Alexander Vaus for the rectory of Conveth in St Andrews diocese.¹³⁶

This latter exchange does not appear to have been fully effective as Alexander Vaus remained in possession of the St Andrews rectory until some time before 24 December 1476 when he was stated to have 'incurred sentence of excommunication and pain of deprivation' on account of non-payment of a pension which had been reserved to Richard Cady.¹³⁷ However, he appears to have acquired the Aberdeen

¹³² K J P Lowe, *op. cit.*, 178

¹³³ For other examples, see page 201 above and pages 221-3 below

¹³⁴ Supp. Nos. 16, 566

¹³⁵ Supp. No. 130. According to the supplication there was a large variation in value between the prebends. The value of the prebend of Banchory Devenick was given as £20 sterling while the prebend of Kinkell was stated to be worth £85 sterling.

¹³⁶ Supp. No. 223 in which the value of the canonry and prebend of Banchory Devenick is given as £30 sterling.

¹³⁷ Cady had previously been provided to the rectory which he had exchanged (without being in possession, although having been successful in litigation) with Robert Keith for the vicarage of Petercultir in Aberdeen diocese during the previous pontificate; Supp. No. 414; *CPR*, XII, 744, 807-8. See also Supp. No. 507 (dated 3 October 1477) in which William Auchinleck sought confirmation of his provision to Conveth to which he had been provided by ordinary authority following the resignation of Adam Gordon. Mention is made in the supplication of the resignation of Alexander Vaus but there is no mention of John *Davidis*.

canonry and prebend since in January 1482 he stated that he had been provided by the ordinary following the resignation of John *Davidis*. At this time he was supplicating to the pope about the validity of his provision on the grounds that a previous litigation case had not been concluded.¹³⁸ Alexander Vaus was also involved in an exchange of benefices with Thomas Vaus before the latter's death in 1480.¹³⁹

In the previous section it was seen that where there was a difference in value between the benefices being exchanged a pension arrangement may have been made to divide the revenue more fairly between the clerics.¹⁴⁰ Suspicion of simony (the purchase of benefices) could arise, though, as a result of exchanges, particularly where there were extreme variations in the value of the benefices. The phenomenon of 'chop-churches' in late fourteenth century England whereby 'a well-beneficed man who was heavily in debt could raise the wind by selling his lush living for cash to a purchaser who had a poorer living but some ready money' deserves mention in this context.¹⁴¹ However, Peter Heath, in an analysis of late medieval English parish clergy, concludes that for England in the following century 'neither in extent nor in effects were exchanges scandalous or detrimental'.¹⁴² For Scotland the extent of the abuse of simony is not known but allegations do appear in the supplications in connection with exchanges of benefices. For example, in 1471 it was alleged that a

¹³⁸ Supp. No. 804

¹³⁹ See page 100 above

¹⁴⁰ See pages 198-9 above for examples of such pension arrangements.

¹⁴¹ Denys Hay, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977), 17. See also Peter Heath, *English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London and Toronto, 1969), 44; R N Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford and New York, 1989), 55

¹⁴² Peter Heath, *op. cit.*, 47

financial pact had been made in connection with an exchange of benefices between Thomas Carmichael and Henry Murray.¹⁴³

Deprivations

Throughout this and the previous chapter examples have arisen of clerics who sought the deprivations of other clerics from benefices to which they themselves desired provision. The categories which have featured among the accused benefice-holders have included clerics who had not been promoted to holy orders and pluralists who had not been dispensed to hold incompatible benefices. In total Mollat lists twenty-six different categories of reasons which merited the deprivation of clerics. These include clerics who exchanged benefices without the authorisation of their superiors, non-residents, heretics, assassins, clerics in holy orders who lived in concubinage, and clerics who had been excommunicated for more than two years.¹⁴⁴ Examples from a substantial proportion of these categories can be found in the Scottish supplications. There are obvious omissions such as accusations of heresy and attempts on the person of a cardinal,¹⁴⁵ but the most frequent categories cited in supplications of the *Privatio* type were alienation of benefice goods, concubinage and adultery, the celebration of divine offices when excommunicate, and simony.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Supp. No. 1532. See pages 222-3 below

¹⁴⁴ G Mollat, *op. cit.*, cols 431-3

¹⁴⁵ *Aux coupables d'un attentat, suivi ou non de mort, perpétré sur la personne d'un cardinal, directement ou indirectement. Le crime était assimilé à celui de lèse-majesté: ibid.*, col 433

¹⁴⁶ It should be noted that requests for deprivations are not restricted to supplications of the *Privatio* type. The first three of these four categories will be discussed in turn. For simony, see previous page and pages 222-3 below

In a few cases more than one category was involved; this seems to have been especially true in accusations against heads of religious houses.

Accusations of alienation of goods were made about both secular and regular benefices. For example, on 29 July 1477 William Oliphant sought the deprivation of *John Mopirton* from the canonry and prebend of Forgandenny in the diocese of Dunkeld because he had alienated pictures of the church and 'other goods offered by parishioners for the reparation of the church'.¹⁴⁷ Among other offences, William Cameron, prior of St Andrews, was accused, in 1476, of leasing goods of the priory uselessly.¹⁴⁸ Likewise, in 1479 Thomas Foster, prior of Pluscarden was indicted of alienating moveable and immoveable goods of the monastery and dilapidating its buildings.¹⁴⁹

Accusations of concubinage and adultery were also made. In January 1472 Patrick *Radschado* advised the pope that Peter Eassie be deprived from holding the vicarage of Stobo in Glasgow diocese 'due to his keeping of a mistress for many years'.¹⁵⁰

The accusation against Thomas Foster in 1479 also included that of taking a concubine with whom he had offspring and of committing adultery with a number of married women.¹⁵¹ A more unusual accusation was made against Robert Blackadder (the future bishop and archbishop of Glasgow) in December 1475 - although it

¹⁴⁷ Supp. No. 495. On the following day he also sought the deprivation of the same cleric from the same benefice on account of his not being dispensed for defect of birth; Supp. No. 496 in which the surname appears as *Myerton*.

¹⁴⁸ Supp. No. 325

¹⁴⁹ Supp. No. 713

¹⁵⁰ Supp. No. 33

¹⁵¹ Supp. No. 713

concerns the cancellation of a pension rather than a deprivation from holding the actual benefice. In a supplication from the abbot and convent of Melrose, Blackadder was accused of cruelly slaying, in the Roman Court, a man 'with whose wife (it was alleged by some) he had committed adultery' and that after the death of the man, it was alleged that Blackadder had taken the wife with him *ad partes*. Therefore the abbot and convent asked the pope to mandate an investigation and, if the narrative which they had presented was established as fact, to confirm that they would no longer be required to pay a pension to the accused as they had been so doing.¹⁵²

John Gardin's celebration of masses and other divine offices while under sentence of excommunication was the reason given by William *Wawan* when he sought the former's deprivation from the vicarage of Kirriemuir in St Andrews diocese in April 1483.¹⁵³ Similarly, Walter Cockburn had believed that Adam Weir merited deprivation from the rectory of Kirknewton in St Andrews diocese on 13 July 1474 on account of the same violation. Weir had been 'excommunicated by an auditor of the Apostolic Camera for some years' and had also been 'excommunicated by the ordinary for other just causes'.¹⁵⁴ On the same day James *Planamoy* had also sought the deprivation of Weir from the canonry and prebend of Ruffel in Dunkeld diocese for the same reason. Furthermore it seems that the excommunication from the auditor of the Camera was because he had 'committed simony in obtaining benefices and rights in benefices'.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Supp. No. 311

¹⁵³ Supp. No. 895

¹⁵⁴ Supp. No. 205

¹⁵⁵ Supp. No. 204

A successful supplication did not guarantee that the accused cleric would be deprived of his benefice or benefices. An investigation had to be made to ascertain the facts and often the suppliant requested that 'some good men *in partibus*' be appointed to do so since deprivations were supposed to be made at diocesan level.¹⁵⁶ However, requests were also made for the investigation to be conducted in the *curia* and the deprivation to be mandated by papal authority. In March 1477, for example, Thomas Chalmer requested that, when he had 'sufficient necessary proofs', an investigation be made into the actions of Stephen Angus, treasurer of Brechin, who was alleged to have celebrated divine offices when excommunicate. Chalmer requested that the investigation be conducted by an auditor of the Rota or a prelate who was resident in the *curia* and that if Angus was found guilty he should be deprived and Chalmer provided to the dignity, 'notwithstanding the rule which states that deprivations should always be committed *in partibus*'.¹⁵⁷

How reliable then were these charges made against the accused? Huisdean Duff has discussed this question in relation to accusations made against heads of Augustinian religious houses in fifteenth-century Scotland and has concluded that claims must often have been exaggerated.¹⁵⁸ Aubrey Gwynn also highlighted the phenomenon in Ireland: 'No abuse was more disastrously common in fifteenth-century Ireland than the plague of unscrupulous "Rome-runners", who set off on their journey to Rome armed with a denunciation of some rival at home whose benefices they coveted, and

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, Supp. Nos. 33, 713

¹⁵⁷ Supp. No. 444

¹⁵⁸ Huisdean Duff, *op. cit.*, 60-1. Duff states that petitions 'are invariably one-sided, often distort the truth, and sometimes almost certainly fall into blatant falsehood.': *ibid.*, 108

prepared to use any means, fair or foul, to secure this benefice at the expense of their rival.¹⁵⁹ The problem had become so great earlier in the century that during the pontificate of Martin V (1417-31), the pope had to legislate against the practice of clerics making allegations and citations against old and seriously ill clerics but then not pursuing the cause immediately. Instead they were waiting until the accused cleric died and then asking to be surrogated in his right. Pope Martin V had legislated that the cause needed to be pursued within the year following the citation.¹⁶⁰

With reference to one of the examples cited above, similar reservations can be made about the truthfulness of the claims. The accusation against Robert Blackadder which was made in 1475 originated from the abbot and convent of Melrose. The abbot involved was Richard Lamb who had been elected abbot by the convent after the death of Andrew, the previous abbot, before 3 April 1471, and the election had been confirmed by ordinary authority. After Andrew's death, though, Blackadder had been provided by the pope. In order to avoid litigation a pension agreement was concluded between Lamb and Blackadder in March 1474 whereby Blackadder resigned his right in return for a pension and allowed Lamb to remain in

¹⁵⁹ Aubrey Gwynn, *The Medieval Province of Armagh 1470-1545* (Dundalk, 1946), 15

¹⁶⁰ *Il convenait d'agir prudemment, car les dénonciations mensongères se produisaient fréquemment. Sous le pontificat de Martin V d'indignes gens en proféraient contre des ecclésiastiques âgés ou gravement malades auxquels des citations à comparaître étaient faites; après quoi, ils ne poursuivaient pas la cause. Dès que les infortunés passaient de vie à trépas, les délateurs sollicitaient du Saint-Siège la faveur d'être subrogés dans les droits des défunts. Le pape interdit de telles pratiques frauduleuses et déclara nuls citations et procès quand la cause n'aurait pas été poursuivie dans l'année qui suivrait la citation.: G Mollat, op. cit., col 433*

possession.¹⁶¹ Lamb appears to have been less than satisfied at having to pay the pension as the 1475 supplication shows. Furthermore, if the accusations of homicide and adultery were investigated they must have been unproven, since in September 1481 Lamb was again seeking that payment of the pension should cease on the grounds that Blackadder was now of episcopal rank (as bishop of Aberdeen).¹⁶² Thus it would seem that it was the payment of the pension which was the contentious issue rather than the alleged homicide by and adultery of Blackadder.

Benefices in the dioceses of Orkney, the Isles, and Argyll

It has been remarked on several occasions that benefices, and indeed clergy, from the more peripheral Scottish dioceses are noticeable by their absence. The dioceses in question have been observed to have been Orkney, the Isles or Sodor, and Argyll or Lismore. How should this be interpreted? Does this mean that clerics in these dioceses were less likely to be pluralists and less likely to be litigious, for example? Or, on the other hand, should the conclusion be that clergy connected to these dioceses felt less need, or were less able to seek favours from the pope? Certainly, the relatively sparse numbers of supplications connected with these dioceses suggests that an affirmative answer is possible to both parts of the latter question. If this is the case, then it is virtually impossible to address, even partially, the former question from the evidence in the supplications (and other papal archival material) alone.

¹⁶¹ *CPR*, XIII, 14, 29, 750

¹⁶² *ibid.*, 749-50

These three Scottish dioceses have been described, for the period 1424-1494, as 'possibly the three poorest Scottish dioceses at this time'. It has also been noted that, for this period, no students from these dioceses were registered among the Scottish students at the university of Paris.¹⁶³ Thus, the dioceses appear not only as geographically remote but also as poor and non-cosmopolitan in nature. Two other facts serve to explain the differences between these dioceses and the other ten Scottish dioceses: both relate to effective power in these dioceses.

Both of the dioceses of Orkney and Sodor did not officially become part of the Scottish Church until the erection of the archbishopric of St Andrews in 1472, although their territorial alignment to the Scottish kingdom predated this. Until 1472 these two dioceses were under the metropolitan jurisdiction of the archbishop of Nidaros or Trondheim in Norway.¹⁶⁴ This accounts for a different organisational development within the dioceses which can be exemplified at parochial level. For, unlike the other dioceses in which the parish church was the local ecclesiastical unit, in the dioceses of Orkney and Sodor it was common for parishes to be grouped together in priest's districts (*prestegjeld*), following Norwegian administrative practice.¹⁶⁵ Although Norwegian control over the diocese of Orkney had officially ended in 1472, connections still remained thereafter. Indeed Hans, king of Denmark from 1481 (and also of Norway from 1483 and Sweden from 1497), 'acted as though

¹⁶³ Leslie J Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514*, quincentenary edition (Aberdeen, 1995), 363

¹⁶⁴ See page 1 above

¹⁶⁵ R G Cant, 'The Church in Orkney and Shetland and its relations with Norway and Scotland in the middle ages', *Northern Scotland* I (1972), 10-11; *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707*, edd P G B McNeill and H L MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1996), 347

he still possessed rights there, particularly in the sphere of church patronage and income . . .'.¹⁶⁶ Cant mentions that in 1500 attempts were made by the Norwegians to regain control of the dioceses of Orkney and Sodor and that in the latter half of the fifteenth century the Scottish king took care to appoint Orkney ecclesiastics to the bishopric.¹⁶⁷

The second point relating to effective power concerns the dioceses of Sodor, Argyll, and Ross which were territorially part of the Lordship of the Isles until 1476.

Bannerman has written of the close association between church and state in the Lordship of the Isles and of the mobility of personnel between the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles.¹⁶⁸ However, he also remarks that 'For much of the fifteenth century the church of the Lordship remained in close touch with Rome. One indication of this is the amount of litigation decided there, particularly in connection with the possession of parish livings, and another is the frequency with which lay society had recourse to Rome . . .'.¹⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the article does not reveal the extent of the contacts between the Lordship and Rome in precise quantitative terms relating to specific dates. The Scottish supplications in the period 1470-84, while indicating that links existed, do not reveal evidence on which a similar conclusion can be reached. There is more material relating to the diocese of Ross than for those of Argyll and Sodor but in all three instances there is little to suggest high numbers of litigation cases (a

¹⁶⁶ B E Crawford, 'Scotland's foreign relations: Scandinavia', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 90, 93

¹⁶⁷ R G Cant, *op. cit.*, 16 note 3, 17

¹⁶⁸ J Bannerman, 'The Lordship of the Isles', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 228, 230

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 230

conclusion which is borne out by the extant records of the Rota).¹⁷⁰ It is probable that the main reason for this disparity of information must relate to the crown defeat of John, Lord of the Isles, in 1476 and the forfeiture of his earldom of Ross.

Instability in the territory of the Lordship in the 1470s may have had a detrimental effect on relations between the dioceses aligned with the Lordship and Rome.

No comment can be made on lay recourse to Rome using the 1470-84 supplications as a basis. Such information is more likely to be found in the archives of the Penitentiary. In her survey of Penitentiary material, Janet Foggie cites examples of cases emanating from the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles.¹⁷¹ With reference to an entry dated 1 March 1438 from the diocese of Argyll she states that 'This case also demonstrates that clergy from comparatively remote areas were aware of canon law and the church courts to such an extent that their cases did find their way to the Curia.'¹⁷²

Whilst there is no denial that links did exist between remoter dioceses and the *curia*, the evidence from the Scottish supplications under review suggests that there is a need for greater qualification of statements regarding the extent of these links. What follows is an attempt to indicate which benefices from the dioceses appear in the supplications and with what issues clergy associated with these benefices were concerned.

¹⁷⁰ See pages 187-8 above

¹⁷¹ J P Foggie, '*Archivum Sacrae Paenitentiariae Apostolicae* in the Vatican Archives as a source for Scottish historians', *IR XLVII* (1996), 117-19, 123, 125

¹⁷² *ibid.*, 125

Five Orkney benefices, of which one is the bishopric, appear in the supplications. There are twelve relevant supplications which deserve consideration (the majority of which relate to the period 1476-9). The first of these was in July 1473 when John *Lernwright* (or *Lemonicht*), canon of Orkney, sought confirmation of his institution to the perpetual vicarage of Kinglassie in St Andrews diocese.¹⁷³ Another Orkney cleric who desired to be a pluralist was John *Chainnes*, vicar of Yell, whose request for dispensation to hold incompatibles has already been noted.¹⁷⁴ Evidence of pluralism can also be seen with regard to Thomas Chalmer who desired to be provided to the vicarage of Kirkbean in Glasgow diocese in February 1477. The vicarage (or right in it) was declared vacant due to the promotion of Andrew Painter to the bishopric of Orkney.¹⁷⁵ However, before September of the following year, Chalmer had died when the holder of the canonry and prebend of Hoy in Orkney and a litigant anent the vicarage of Kirkbean. In September 1478 both John Whitelaw and James *Doles* supplicated to be provided to the canonry and prebend of Hoy in Orkney. Whitelaw and John Brown both supplicated to be provided to the vicarage of Kirkbean.¹⁷⁶ Another Chalmer can be linked with the previous bishop of Orkney, William Tulloch. In March 1476 John Chalmer, a priest from the diocese of

¹⁷³ Supp. No. 142

¹⁷⁴ Supp. No. 366; see page 182 above

¹⁷⁵ Supp. No. 430. For the promotion of Andrew Painter and subsequent vacancy in the vicarage of Kirkbean, see also Supp. Nos. 574, 609, 609.1, 613.1

¹⁷⁶ Supp. Nos. 609, 609.1, 610, 612, 613.1. There is a slight problem with the identification of the canonry and prebend. In Dunlop's calendar it appears as Hoy in the church of Orkney in Supp. No. 612, but as Hoy, diocese of Caithness in Supp. No. 610. Caithness would appear to be erroneous since there was no prebend of Hoy in that diocese. Orkney seems correct due partly to the Thomas Chalmer connection. Cowan states that Hoy in Orkney 'was an original prebend of Kirkwall cathedral, although it does not appear in record as such until 1539'; I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967), 83. See also, I B Cowan, 'The Organisation of Scottish Secular Cathedral Chapters', *RSCHS* XIV (1960), 46

Brechin, requested that the pope ratify an annual pension payable to him from rent due to the bishop and church of Orkney from the burgh of Aberdeen.¹⁷⁷

Two supplications relate to the episcopal duties of Andrew Painter, bishop of Orkney. On 26 May 1478 Painter supplicated for an indult that he be not bound to visit the Roman see within ten years and that he be absolved from a previous oath to conduct the customary visit. The request had been made since 'the church of Orkney is situated beyond Scotland and is poor in revenues and in going from there to Italy one has to navigate many dangers of seas and islands'.¹⁷⁸ The second supplication, dated 19 January 1479, in essence concerns dispensation from the incompatibility of Painter's duties as a doctor of medicine and as a diocesan bishop.¹⁷⁹ Thus both supplications concern personal infringements of canonical expectations.

The final Orkney supplication, like that of Thomas Chalmer, concerns a benefice which was due to be vacant through promotion to a bishopric. In May 1484 James Sinclair hoped to gain the archdeaconry of Shetland, a non-major dignity which was vacant due to the promotion of John Sinclair to the bishopric of Caithness.¹⁸⁰

Therefore, in the Orkney supplications evidence can be found of pluralism, pensions, and dispensations from canon law requirements. The notable omission is that of litigation anent Orkney benefices - although Thomas Chalmer, a cleric with a

¹⁷⁷ Supp. No. 334 where the surname appears as *Chabm*; see also *CPR*, XIII, 504-5

¹⁷⁸ Supp. No. 592

¹⁷⁹ Supp. No. 641

¹⁸⁰ Supp. No. 1015

benefice in Orkney was involved in litigation concerning a benefice in Glasgow diocese.

There are nine supplications in which four different benefices in the diocese of the Isles or Sodor appear. Five of these supplications relate to the period September-October 1472, at around the time when Angus was consecrated in Rome as bishop of the Isles.¹⁸¹ As was the case in one of Andrew Painter's supplications relating to the bishopric of Orkney, the issues of remoteness and poverty arose in supplications from the bishop of the Isles. In October 1472, Angus, bishop of the Isles, requested that he be not bound to visit the apostolic thresholds for ten years. Furthermore, he sought dispensation to hold for life the canonry and prebend of Kilberry and the parish church of Kilblane in the diocese of Argyll which he had held at the time of his promotion to the bishopric. The request was made in order that 'he may be able to maintain episcopal state and have a house on the mainland where he may rest when he happens to be called to the king of Scots, or other princes who have jurisdiction only in the Isles and that he might have the help of some provision'.¹⁸²

Two points which were raised by Bannerman are reflected here: the first being the mobility of personnel between the dioceses of Argyll and the Isles and the second

¹⁸¹ The consecration took place on 27 September 1472; D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 204. The five supplications are dated 4 September, 23 September, 28 September, 1 October, and 15 October; Supp. Nos. 67, 69, 70, 73, 72.

¹⁸² Supp. Nos. 72, 73. The name of the canonry and prebend appears as *St Berchan* and *St Brachan* in these two supplications respectively. It can be identified as the canonry and prebend of Kilberry which had been erected from the church of St Berach in Knapdale in the 1420s; I B Cowan, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967), 94

being the close association between church and state in the Lordship of the Isles.¹⁸³

This second point is reinforced further in a supplication from Elizabeth, countess of Ross and wife of John, Lord of the Isles. In March 1478 she requested that the pope, for the lifetime of her husband, would 'exempt her from the jurisdiction of the bishop of the Isles and of his officials and vicars and take her under protection of the Apostolic See . . .'. The countess had explained that her husband had thrown her into prison and had tried to poison her. She had fled to the court of the queen but the bishop 'at the instigation, as is believed, of John' had been commanding her to return to live with her husband.¹⁸⁴

There are four supplications which concern the parish church of Kilmore or St Mary in Arran. These illustrate a number of the issues which have been discussed elsewhere in this chapter. In September 1472 Gilbert *Johannis*, an illegitimate clerk from the diocese of Argyll, sought the deprivation of Alexander Finlay Spens from the rectory of Kilmore since he had 'dilapidated immoveable goods of said rectory' and 'was present at a place where homicide was committed and was not afraid to give help and favour'. *Johannis*, who had been dispensed from his illegitimacy to be promoted to holy orders and hold a benefice with cure, sought provision for himself.¹⁸⁵ Another deprivation was sought from the benefice in 1481 when Thomas Ramsay sought provision to the rectory which he claimed was vacant due to the contravention of the constitution *Execrabilis* by John Burell.¹⁸⁶ The other two

¹⁸³ See page 216 above

¹⁸⁴ Supp. No. 573

¹⁸⁵ Supp. No. 70. The identification of the rectory is not conclusive - its name is given as *Kilmarie Marry*

¹⁸⁶ Supp. No. 789. For Thomas Ramsay as a representative of the king, see pages 124-5 above

supplications concern John Goldsmith's exchange of the Arran rectory with John Motherwell for the vicarage of Eastwood in 1477 which has already been mentioned. This exchange also involved a pension agreement.¹⁸⁷

The final example of benefice-holding in the diocese of the Isles concerns the Augustinian priory of St Columba of Oronsay. In September 1472 Dougal *Donaldi*, who was a canon there, sought provision to the priory and dispensation for defect of birth as son of an unmarried man and an unmarried woman.¹⁸⁸

With the exception of the supplications from the bishop of the Isles and that of William Elphinstone who, as archdeacon of Argyll, was wanting an extension of his dispensation to hold incompatible benefices in June 1479,¹⁸⁹ the supplications which relate to benefices in the diocese of Argyll all concern deprivations from benefices. In 1475 two different clerics - Robert Houston and John Whitelaw - sought provision to the archdeaconry of Argyll which it was claimed was vacant due to the non-promotion to sacred orders of Peter *de Sandilands* who was also suffering from defect of age from which he had not been dispensed and who had held the dignity for over two or three years after being collated by ordinary authority.¹⁹⁰ Two earlier requests for deprivations concern accusations of other charges including simony. Both were made at the end of the pontificate of Paul II. In November 1470 Malcolm *Salomonis David*, dean of Argyll, sought the deprivation of Robert Fowler from the rectory of Kilcolmkill in Morvern since he was 'a public fornicator, a simoniac and a

¹⁸⁷ See page 198 above

¹⁸⁸ Supp. Nos. 67, 69

¹⁸⁹ Supp. No. 688

¹⁹⁰ Supp. Nos. 231, 253

non-resident and has not feared to commit many excesses against his clerical order'.¹⁹¹ On 7 July 1471 a supplication was made which described how Thomas Carmichael, holder of a canonry and prebend in Argyll diocese, had made an agreement with Henry Murray, vicar of Stirling in St Andrews diocese that they would exchange benefices which they did. Carmichael, though, had 'promised to give him [Murray] a certain sum of money, as he did'.¹⁹²

The final supplication refers specifically to ordinances and statutes of the bishop and chapter of Argyll (and also apostolic constitutions). On 9 April 1484 John *Mackyliss* sought provision to the perpetual vicarage of Inverchaolain which according to the capitular ordinances and statutes 'should be held by those who understand and can speak the local idiom'. The benefice had been detained without sufficient canonical title by William *Bellj* for between twelve and sixteen years despite the fact that he did not satisfy the requirements of the linguistic statutes.¹⁹³

Noticeable factors in the Argyll supplications are firstly the concentration on supplications which request deprivations and secondly that the majority of supplications occur in the 1470-5 period. This implication of lack of diocesan control during the early 1470s can probably be explained by the long vacancy in the episcopal see from 1461 to 1475.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Supp. Nos. 1464, 1471

¹⁹² Supp. No. 1532

¹⁹³ Supp. No. 1005. The vicarage is given as St Brigid *Innerbelan*. In the corresponding papal letter it appears as St. Bride's *Innhelen*'; CPR, XIII, 172

¹⁹⁴ D E R Watt, *op. cit.*, 27; John Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912), 386-7

Conclusion

In the last years of the pontificate of Paul II and for the whole of the pontificate of Sixtus IV nearly six hundred Scottish clerics supplicated to the pope for a number of reasons associated mainly with the advancement of their careers. It would appear that on the whole the yearly trend of these supplications followed the general trend of the supplications as recorded in the *Registra Supplicationum*, and political and ecclesiastical events in Scotland itself had very little bearing on links with the routine business of the papacy. However, as a proportion of the total number of supplications recorded, it would seem that numbers of Scottish supplications had decreased somewhat in the course of the century.

Numbers of supplications, though, did fluctuate from year to year during the 1470-84 period. A peak occurred around the pontifical year 1476-7 while the nadir was in 1480-1, coinciding with Italian wars and the Turkish invasion of Otranto. Various factors deserve consideration in any assessment of numbers. These include special events such as the papal Jubilee of 1475, the political situation in Italy, embassies to the pope from the king, promotions to bishoprics, and the deaths of multiple benefice holders. With reference to the last three examples clusters of associated supplications can be found around these events.

The Scottish supplications of the 1470-84 period contain much information which is pertinent to studies of the late medieval Church in Scotland. This information slots

into two broad areas: clerical careers and the condition and operation of the Church in Scotland. Nevertheless, only a partial picture is revealed and the element of bias on the part of supplicants must be borne in mind in any assessment, particularly in controversial matters like deprivations from benefices. No less important, though, is the evidence contained within the source which reveals how the system worked in practice at the *curia* itself.

The Scottish clerics who made supplications to the pope ranged from those who were unbeneficed to those who were of prelatial rank. A substantial proportion of the total appear to have been present in the Roman Court while others used procurators to conduct their business. Around 16.5% of Scottish clerical supplicants claimed to be of noble birth while approximately 11% were illegitimate (over one half of whom were the sons of priests). Over one quarter of the supplicants held qualifications with a greater number being qualified in Canon Law than Theology.¹

Nobility of birth and qualifications undoubtedly aided the advancement of a cleric's career. It is clear, for example, that the greater the benefice being supplicated, the more likely it was that the supplicant had qualifications. However, the overriding impression gained from the supplications is that of just as vital importance were the benefits to be acquired through patronage and social networking.² Supplicants were

¹ The proportion is slightly over 3:1 - 35 supplicants possessed degrees in Canon Law while 11 were qualified in Theology. Canon lawyers tended to be more prominent in many aspects of ecclesiastical administration from the papacy downwards.

² Factors which are recognised as important by historians such as Barrell and Swanson. See A D M Barrell, *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378* (Cambridge, 1995), *passim*; R N Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford and New York, 1989), *passim*

careful to mention any connections they had to prelates or royalty who at times also supplicated on behalf of their clients.

A disproportionate number of supplications were made by, or on behalf of familiars of the pope and of cardinals such as Guillaume d'Estouteville, cardinal of Rouen and Raffaele Riario, cardinal of San Giorgio. These familiars enjoyed special privileges by virtue of their status, although a distinction must be made between clerics who were continual commensal familiars *de facto* and those who were familiars *de iure*. The fifteen Scottish clerics who fall into the former category were resident in Rome and their supplications account for around 7% of the total number.³ They tended to originate from the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow, and can be associated with a variety of benefice types in assorted dioceses, although the majority of these benefices were in the dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Moray.

In real terms, though, curial patronage was of limited use as the partial career reconstructions of Alexander Rait and Thomas Vaus have shown. Although the familiars were usually non-resident pluralists, they were not ultimately successfully in gaining most of the benefices which they sought as exemplified by the high incidence of litigation and pensions which can be associated with them. In part this was due to the comparatively greater number of expectative graces which they were granted - particularly to cathedral canonries and prebends (simple or compatible benefices).

³ The total number includes supplications made by royalty, members of the nobility, and other lay persons.

Papal and cardinal familiars appear to have been patrons or facilitators in their own right whether it be to act as procurators on behalf of their fellow countrymen - for example, in prosecuting supplications or making payment of fees or in judicial cases - or through the acquisition of benefices which they could resign in favour of their clients or from which they could award pensions to them. William Marshall's patronage of Gilbert Young serves as a good example of the practice.

In a similar way royal representation at the *curia* provided the means to facilitate the business of the king. Clerics like Robert Blackadder and John Edwardson were resident for lengthy periods of time, allowing them to act on behalf of other clients and to advance their own careers in the process. *Ad hoc* embassies occurred from time to time and those clerics involved also took the opportunity to make supplications on behalf of themselves during the period of their missions. The high correlation between qualifications, service to the king and reward from the pope is noticeable. Such reward could take the form of provisions to benefices or be more honorary such as the awarding of privileges of papal familiars in the assecution of benefices or appointment to the position of acolyte of the pope with its attendant privileges.

One of the most recurrent criticisms of the renaissance papacy has been that of the use of nepotism. This practice occurred at lower levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as can be seen from studies of bishops like William Elphinstone. In the context of a kin-based society it is not surprising to find evidence for patronage through familial relationships at even lower levels. Evidence occurs in the context

of presentation to benefices, the procuratorial system, the practice of *resignationes in favorem*, and exchanges of benefices.

It is well documented how the system of papal provisions with its bestowal to a cleric of the right to be considered as the holder of a benefice (*ius implorandi*) and the equity of the judicial system incorporating, for example, the *surrogatio* device, in turn could lead to litigation and the depleting of revenue from benefices. That the result of such devices could be detrimental to the operation of the Church at the local level, in that rights of local patrons were being subverted, is not in contention.

Indeed evidence can be found in the supplications of disputes between competing clerics who had been provided by ordinary and papal authority to the same benefice. Furthermore, evidence is also to be found of disputes occurring in the localities without reference to the pope in the early stages.

Litigation, even in the first instance, anent Scottish benefices was often conducted in the court of the Rota in Rome. A number of clerics were involved in more than one litigation case in the period. A substantial proportion of the cases resulted in the awarding of pensions to the cleric or clerics who had resigned any right in the benefice. In lesser numbers pensions could also be awarded in return for services conducted for patrons and as a result of the exchange of benefices unequal in value.

Recourse to the pope was made not only in an attempt to resolve disputes but also to prevent them occurring in the first place. Supplications of the *nova provisio* category take the form of confirmations of previous provision or collation to

benefices. In some cases infringement of some canonical rule had put the validity of the provision into question, in other cases the ordinary had refused to admit the presentation made by the lay patron. In many cases confirmation of provision by the ordinary was being sought, perhaps indicating the possibility of dispute at diocesan level.

In most of the previous accounts of the medieval Church in Scotland there has been an inclination to make sweeping generalisations about both the effect of papal provisions and the extent of abuses, such as pluralism and the failure of clerics to be ordained to holy orders, in the localities. Little distinction has been made between the experiences of different dioceses and their relations with the papacy, although there has been acknowledgement of the differing diocesan structures and worship patterns.⁴

What has emerged from analysis of diverse topics relating to benefice-holding is that there is a marked variation from diocese to diocese, at least in terms of relations to the papacy. Although only a partial picture can be revealed, a pattern can be traced concerning the number and type of benefices which were affected by issues like litigation, pensions, and expectative graces. By far the greatest number of benefices were in the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow which is perhaps not surprising

⁴ See, for example, articles by Ian Cowan including, 'The Organisation of Scottish Secular Cathedral Chapters', *RSCHS* XIV (1960), 19-49 and 'The medieval church in the diocese of Aberdeen', *Northern Scotland* I (1972), 19-48. Different worship patterns in the localities of Scotland were accommodated for by William Elphinstone in his Aberdeen Breviary of 1510; Leslie J Macfarlane, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514*, quincentenary edition (Aberdeen, 1995), 231-46

since they were the two largest dioceses in Scotland and both were the centres of universities. Benefices in the diocese of Aberdeen often occurred next in order of quantity affected. In the dioceses of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross contact with the papacy predominantly concerned cathedral benefices, while in the dioceses of Galloway and Dunkeld the trend was to parochial benefices. The greatest variation of benefice types occurred in the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow where parochial churches featured relatively highly.

The dominance of St Andrews and Glasgow can be seen in relation to both dispensations anent the holding of incompatible benefices and supplications from those who would appear to have been parochial clergy. Dispensations to hold incompatible benefices were frequent in the period with approximately 18% of the total number of supplications comprising requests for benefices to be held in plurality. In instances where the suppliant was already a benefice holder, the majority of the benefices were in the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow - although pluralists can be found with benefices in more peripheral dioceses.

Similarly it is estimated that between two-thirds and three-quarters of parochial clergy who petitioned the pope in the 1470-84 period were from the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow.⁵ When the diocese of Aberdeen is added the figure rises to

⁵ The calculation is based on an identification of those supplicants who held or sought verification of parochial benefices (Code H or V in the Relatio table). From this group those who were papal or cardinal familiars, those who had connections with the king and nobility, and those who were pluralists on a large scale or who had associations with cathedral benefices were removed. The resulting figures, which are very approximate, indicate that around 43% were from the diocese of St Andrews, 28% from Glasgow, 11% from Aberdeen, 6% from Dunkeld, and 3-4% from each of Galloway and Dunblane. For the other dioceses the figures are

over 80%. This coincides remarkably with the percentages for diocesan origins of students in the university of Paris for the period from 1425 to 1494. According to these figures students originating from the three aforementioned dioceses account for around 83% of the total. In addition these were the three dioceses which tended to be the dioceses of origin of familiars of the pope and of cardinals.

The position of the diocese of Aberdeen with the papacy is interesting. Although cathedral benefices were the ones most frequently affected by expectative graces and litigation, parish clergy from the diocese also appear to have had recourse to Rome. What would seem to be a strong link with the diocese to the papacy may be partially explained by the fact that Thomas Spens, bishop from 1459 until 1480 had gained exemption, in February 1474, from the jurisdiction of the archbishop of St Andrews for himself and his diocese for his lifetime.⁶ Thus for the bulk of the period Aberdeen was under the direct jurisdiction of the papacy unlike the other Scottish dioceses.

The predominance of benefices in the dioceses of St Andrews, Glasgow, and, to a lesser extent, Aberdeen, suggests that these were not only the most popular dioceses in which aspiring clerics sought benefices but that clergy from these dioceses were more likely to seek favour from the pope. The universities in St Andrews and Glasgow are likely to have some bearing on this. Those who had studied on the continent and had returned to teach or undertake further study at their home universities would have had a more cosmopolitan outlook than clerics in more minimal or non-existent.

⁶ Supp. No. 167

remote Scottish dioceses and so would perhaps be more likely to view the papacy as a source of patronage. Similarly it is likely that a number of benefices were sought in these dioceses to help finance the cleric while he pursued study at one of the universities.

The residence in Rome of papal and cardinal familiars probably had some bearing too. Through social networking, clerics from the dioceses of origin of the familiars had an important link to those at the centres of power in the *curia*. Not only did the familiars act as procurators, but the client-patron relationship was reciprocal.

Familiars in their turn would have required clergy from the localities to act on their behalf in prosecuting their rights *in partibus*. Again, the bulk of this business would seem to have been in the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow.

In contrast around 2% of the total number of supplications relate to benefices in the peripheral dioceses of Orkney, the Isles, and Argyll. From these few examples, though, evidence exists of abuses, such as non-promotion to orders and pluralism, which can be found in the other dioceses. As has been discussed, the historical evolution of these dioceses had been noticeably different and factors such as the long vacancy in the episcopal see of Argyll probably led to weak diocesan control. From evidence in the supplications links with the papacy were thus extremely weak in this period in comparison to those of the other Scottish dioceses.

The analysis presented above has proceeded thematically with division into the areas of clergy and benefices. It is suggested that the study can be extended in three main

ways: firstly, through development of individual themes by means of collation with other source material; secondly, the supplications material could be collated with other papal archival material for the period to present a more complete view of Scottish relations with the papacy at this time from the viewpoint of activity in Rome; and thirdly comparisons could be made between the Scottish experience and those of other countries or between Scottish supplications of this and either an earlier or later period. It is not necessary for each of these three ways to exist independently of each other, though.

In the case of familiars of the pope and of cardinals the most obvious avenues to explore are the proportion of those in the *curia* which the Scottish familiars represent and methods of requirement. The role that familiars played as procurators is worthy of further investigation. The more personal attributes of clerics such as social origins and qualifications could also be examined in greater depth to determine whether nobility of birth and university education did in fact lead to preferment. In this context the place of study of those supplicants who possessed qualifications may be worth determining. With regard to benefice-holding the most fruitful area of enquiry would probably be that of disputes over provisions. How many disputes were the direct result of papal provision and how widespread were expectative graces? Were refusals by ordinaries to admit presentations by lay patrons indicative of familial or political disputes or feuds as opposed to the rejection of clergy who were unfit to exercise the cure of souls?

One vast subject to which attention could be devoted is that of economic matters such as values of benefices and the amount of revenue which was being diverted to pensions. In addition the supplications contain evidence concerning the use of merchant bankers and clerics who acted as surety on behalf of other clerics. The subject is, however, particularly problematic due to much variation in the values which are given (where the currency denominations are the same) and use of different currency denominations. Furthermore calculations would need to take exchange rates and inflation into account.

The means of extending the research raise questions of methodology. In analysing the supplications use of a relational database to extract information quickly and efficiently and to ask complex questions of the source has proved to be of tremendously important value. Particularly in the case of the second and third means of further research, it would be possible for other database tables to be created containing information from other sources which could be linked to the existing structure, by means of the [person] link id numbers and new benefice id numbers. However, such a product could be unwieldy and difficult to use, particularly by secondary analysts. One criticism too is that the actual texts would be irretrievable if such a method were to be employed and that the potential for confusion would increase. However, in view of the quantity and complexity of information, computer-aided analysis seems to be the most appropriate method to use.

It is anticipated that the collation of the supplications with other papal archival material of the same period would present a fuller picture of clerical careers and

diocesan links with Rome. An element of this has occurred in the analysis, as exemplified by the case study of Alexander Rait and the survey of ordinations in the *curia*. Unfortunately for this period two useful Cameral sources - the series of *Libri Formatarum* and the series of *Resignationes* have substantial *lacunae* for the pontificate of Sixtus IV. The archives of the Rota have also suffered from heavy losses. Collation with papal letters may provide information which had been omitted from supplications - for example, phrases like 'value will be expressed in the making out of letters' can be found in supplications - although the supplications are generally recognised to be more informative than the letters. The archives of the Penitentiary are potentially useful for more personal information concerning clerics, including illegitimacy and bodily defects.

Collation of other papal archival material with the supplications would be especially useful to determine diocesan relations with the papacy. Can the links of dioceses be defined according to type of transaction as much as quantity? For example, in the case of peripheral dioceses where benefice activity in relation to the papacy was not great, were contacts between the laity and papacy more frequent? At the crux of the issue may be the links which bishops and dignitaries had with the *curia*. This can be seen in part through papal mandates to them to execute business within their dioceses. Indults to bishops to dispense, by apostolic authority, illegitimates and couples who had married or who were intending to marry within the forbidden degrees is a subject worth exploring, particularly in connection with Penitentiary records. Relatively high numbers of dispensations granted in the Penitentiary to clerics and laity from peripheral dioceses, for example, may be indicative of weak

links between the papacy and bishops in these areas with few indults for dispensations being granted to them. In connection with this it would be interesting to ascertain whether clerics from peripheral dioceses who sought dispensations for defect of birth at the *curia* did so in order to seek benefices in other dioceses where, perhaps, they were more likely to face challenges.

The final means by which the study could be extended is that of a comparative approach. The proportion of Scottish supplications and Scottish personnel in the *curia* in comparison with those of other countries would set in perspective Scottish relations with the papacy. The low number of Scottish familiars and the small number of those Scots who were ordained in the general ordination of December 1471 suggest that Scottish business was not especially great in quantity at a time when the *curia* was expanding in terms of bureaucracy and becoming more and more Italianised. This subject, though, is potentially vast and the inaccessibility of statistics from other countries hinders detailed enquiry.

Of more practical value would be a comparison between Scottish supplications of different pontificates to try to determine how typical the results which have emerged in this study are. Was more litigation occurring as the century progressed? Were links of more peripheral dioceses with the papacy stronger at other times or was the dominance of benefice activity restricted to the dioceses of St Andrews and Glasgow universally?

Regardless of which methodology or approach is employed in any analysis of the supplications source, the importance of the supplicants with their diverse requests should not be forgotten. Annie I Dunlop sums up the position for the 1423-8 period:

- 'Our supplicants, as seen in the light of their petitions, are an ambitious and enterprising set of men, clannish and adventurous, devout and dissolute, children of their age and heirs of eternity.'⁷

This statement seems to be applicable for the supplications of the period which has been studied. Nevertheless, among the diverse information contained in the source, the importance of the individual supplicant should not be lost sight of - whether it be Andrew Young with his numerous curial patrons and plurality of benefices in diverse dioceses, or William Gardiner, 'a poor priest holding no benefice', who, in the first year of the pontificate of Sixtus IV, had made a supplication in which he requested absolution from guilt of homicide in order that he could gain employment within the Church.⁸

⁷ *Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-1428*, ed A I Dunlop, Scottish History Society, third series, XLVIII (Edinburgh, 1956), xxv

⁸ Supp. No. 36

Appendix I - Examples of contents of database tables

SUPPDES

<i>Supp no</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Ref no.</i>	<i>Result</i>	<i>Litigation</i>
152	28.09.1473	PER OBITUM	697,291V	FIAT. ROME	
639	18.01.1479	SUBROGATIO	777,109-109V	CONCESSUM. ROME	U
711	9.10.1479	CESSIO CUM PENSIONE	787,84	CONCESSUM. ROME	

DESCRIP

<i>Supp.no.</i>	<i>Description</i>
639	RE BID=1329 LATELY IN THE APOSTOLIC PALACE IN CAUSE BEFORE PID=2218 BETWEEN LATE PID=2219 & PID=2220 PID=2219 DIED OUTSIDE THE ROMAN COURT
639	PID=2220 SEEKS THAT THE POPE WOULD GIVE MANDATE TO PID=2218 TO SURROGATE HIM IN ALL RIGHT COMPETENT TO PID=2219 AT THE TIME OF DEATH AND WOULD PROVIDE HIM TO BID=1329
711	RE BID=1457 IT WAS FEARED THAT A SUIT WOULD ARISE BETWEEN PIDS- 2241 & 2242 FOR THE GOOD OF PEACE & CONCORD ETC & TO AVOID LABOURS & EXPENSES PID=2241 FREELY CEDED ALL RIGHT COMPETENT TO HIM INTO HANDS OF POPE
711	PIDS-2441 & 2442 SEEK THAT POPE WOULD PROVIDE BID=1457 TO PID-2442 AND WOULD RESERVE & ASSIGN TO PID=2441 A PENSION

PEOPLE

<i>Supp no.</i>	<i>Pid</i>	<i>New Pid</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>First name</i>	<i>Other Name</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Notes</i>
152	864	864	CRECHON	KENTIGERN			
152	865	609	INGLIS	JAMES			
639	2218	7	DE GRASSIS	ANTONIO		DOM	
639	2219	1136	HUNTAT	GEORGE			
639	2220	1075	IUHYTLAW	JOHN			
711	2441	1075	QUHITLAU	JOHN			
711	2442	915	OLEPHANT	WILLIAM			

PERDESC

<i>Supp no</i>	<i>Pid</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Notes</i>
152	864	PRIEST D.STA.	
152	865	DIED AT THE APOSTOLIC SEE	
639	2218	AUDITOR	
639	2219	PRIEST D.STA.	
639	2220	PRIEST D.STA.	
639	2220	DISPENSED FOR DEFECT OF BIRTH AS SON OF AN UNMARRIED MAN AND AN UNMARRIED WOMAN	
711	2441	PRIEST D.STA.	
711	2442	CLERK D.DUNK.	

QUALIF

<i>Supp no.</i>	<i>Pid</i>	<i>Qualification</i>	<i>Notes</i>
639	2220	B.DEC	
711	2441	B.DEC	

BENEFIC

<i>Supp no</i>	152	<i>Supp.no.</i>	152
<i>Bid</i>	499	<i>Bid</i>	499
<i>New Bid</i>	351	<i>New Bid</i>	351
<i>Benefice Type</i>	PERPETUAL VICARAGE	<i>Benefice Type</i>	PERPETUAL VICARAGE
<i>Dedication</i>		<i>Dedication</i>	
<i>Institution</i>		<i>Institution</i>	
<i>Place</i>	LEIARTWODE	<i>Place</i>	LEGERWOOD
<i>Religious Order</i>		<i>Religious Order</i>	
<i>Diocese</i>	ST ANDREWS	<i>Diocese</i>	ST ANDREWS
<i>Patronage</i>		<i>Patronage</i>	[PAISLEY ABBEY]
<i>Notes</i>		<i>Notes</i>	PATRONAGE INFO - PMS

<i>Supp no</i>	639	<i>Supp.no.</i>	711
<i>Bid</i>	1329	<i>Bid</i>	1457
<i>New Bid</i>	636	<i>New Bid</i>	636
<i>Benefice Type</i>	PARISH CHURCH	<i>Benefice Type</i>	PARISH CHURCH
<i>Dedication</i>		<i>Dedication</i>	
<i>Institution</i>		<i>Institution</i>	
<i>Place</i>	ESSE	<i>Place</i>	ESSE
<i>Religious Order</i>		<i>Religious Order</i>	
<i>Diocese</i>	ST ANDREWS	<i>Diocese</i>	ST ANDREWS
<i>Patronage</i>		<i>Patronage</i>	
<i>Notes</i>		<i>Notes</i>	

BENVAL

<i>Supp no</i>	<i>Bid</i>	<i>Benefice Value</i>	<i>Penston Value</i>	<i>Currency Description</i>	<i>Notes</i>
152	499	9		POUNDS STERLING	
639	1329	16		POUNDS STERLING	
711	1457	80		MERKS SCOTS	
711	1457		20	MERKS	ANNUAL PENSION TO BE PAID TO PID=2441 BY PID=2442 & HIS SUCCESSORS

RELATIO

<i>Supp.no.</i>	<i>Pid</i>	<i>Bid</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Notes</i>
152	864	499	S	
152	865	499	D	D AT THE APOSTOLIC SEE
639	2219	1329	D	POSSESSOR
639	2219	1329	LIT	
639	2220	1329	LIT	
639	2220	1329	S	
711	2441	1457	RP	PID=2441 RP ALL RIGHT COMPETENT TO HIM IN BEN
711	2441	1457	SP	ANNUAL PENSION TO BE PAID BY PID=2442
711	2442	1457	S	

PRELAT

<i>Supp.no.</i>	<i>Person 1 id</i>	<i>Person 2 id</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Notes</i>
711	2441	2442	PENSIONER	ANNUAL PENSION OF 20 MERKS TO BE PAID TO PID=2441 BY PID=2442 & HIS SUCCESSORS FROM FRUITS OF BID=1457

PERSUPP

<i>Supp.no.</i>	<i>Pid</i>	<i>Notes</i>
152	864	
639	2220	
711	2441	
711	2442	

PEOLINK

<i>Supp.no.</i>	<i>Pid</i>	<i>New Pid</i>	<i>Link ID</i>	<i>Notes</i>
152	864	864	273	
152	865	609	198	WATT FASTI
639	2218	7	7	
639	2219	1136	1136	
639	2220	1075	1055	
711	2441	1075	1055	
711	2442	915	915	

Appendix II - Index Of Names Of Supplicants

The following represents a list of names of supplicants along with the serial number of the supplications in which they appear (as supplicants) in the calendar in Volume II of the thesis. Each entry in the index denotes an individual supplicant. References for these individuals have been linked firstly according to the criteria explained in pages 62-9 above - for example, on the basis of association with particular benefices and then claims of nobility, illegitimacy and qualifications. However, for the purposes of this index entries for the same name have also been linked where it is probable or possible that the same person is referred to, although there is not enough definite evidence to confirm the links. In cases where it appears that two or more people of the same name existed these are presented as separate entries with a brief description, to distinguish the individuals, in parenthesis (although in a number of cases not all of the benefices which they are associated with are given). Surnames have been

presented in their modernised forms except in those cases where identification is not certain; these latter surnames have been italicised.

Abercrombie, Alexander
389, 396, 398, 399, 403.1

Abercrombie, Henry
776, 1023

Abernethy, George
1472, 271, 281

Abernethy, John
1486, 1493, 1509, 340, 509

Abernethy, Robert
875, 896, 914

Abernethy, Walter
517, 518, 521, 533

Aichinson, Robert 941

Aitkenhead, John
179, 788

Alane, Thomas
1011

Alexander, abbot of Cupar
315

Allardice, James
347, 547, 577, 655, 717, 748

Anderson, John
819, 942

Anderson, Robert 976

Andrew, abbot of
Holyrood 1428

Andrew, bishop of
Warmia 25.2

Angus, bishop of Sodor
(the Isles) 72, 73

Auchinleck, Dennis
23.1

Auchinleck, William
451, 507, 508, 511

Aurifaber, John see
Goldsmith, John

Bache, John 945

Balfour, Thomas 255

Ballantine, Robert
1009

Barclay, Robert
700, 704, 973

Bardi, Alexander de 150

Barry, Henry (priest,
d.StA, rector of Collace)
1528, 292, 313

Barry, Henry (priest, d.Brech) 295	Boni, Andrew de 150	Brown, John 609, 609.1, 611, 613.1, 617, 650, 660
Barry, John 228, 235, 362, 462, 473, 476, 827, 949	<i>Bonshal</i> , Edward 1024	Brown, Patrick 1467
Barry, Robert 1425, 1446, 1534, 15, 838	<i>Boswel</i> , Robert 1016, 1025	Brown, Robert 472, 478.1, 545, 575
<i>Baton</i> , Alexander 237	<i>Bothweik</i> , Alexander 376	Bully, Duncan 1524, 176, 176.1, 191, 196, 466, 469, 472.1, 757
<i>Belli</i> , Nicholas 1532	Boyce, Giles 332, 342, 659, 664, 675, 684, 684.1, 709, 712, 740, 778, 783, 784, 823	Bully, John 746
<i>Benyn</i> , John 244	Boyce, Henry 126, 166, 184, 452	Bunch, Duncan 1512, 189, 191.1, 192, 196
<i>Bet</i> , Thomas 885	Boyce, Patrick (clerk, d.StA, in his eighteenth year [February 1479]) 654	<i>Cabbyris / Caveris</i> , John 1432, 47, 57
Bickerton, John 931	Boyce, Patrick (treasurer of Brechin, in his twenty-eighth year [May 1482]) 786, 822	Cady, Richard 99, 111
Bisset, James 98	Brady, Richard 395, 405, 513, 522, 631, 632	Calder, John 358, 364, 365
Blackadder, John (rector of Minto) 117.1, 129	<i>Brody</i> , Simon 980	Calderwood, Archibald 722, 722.1, 722.2
Blackadder, John (clerk, d.StA) 881	<i>Broke</i> , Simon 960	Cameron, William 66, 70.1, 74, 83, 89, 157, 221, 274, 439
Blackadder, Patrick 759	Brown, David 950	Campbell, Elizabeth 314, 318.1
Blackadder, Robert 1427, 1444, 1454, 56, 180, 197, 208, 254, 331, 333, 373, 374, 408, 411, 515, 519, 534, 563, 570, 571, 572, 576, 581, 581.1, 589, 693, 877, 897, 902, 903, 909	Brown, George 249, 264, 266, 421, 440, 442, 532, 671, 833	Cant, Adam 886, 1028
<i>Blabet</i> , John 1514	Brown, James 835, 845, 964, 1008	Cant, Alexander 574, 795
Blair, William 20		Cant, George 683
Blank, John 330, 333.2		

Cant, John 301, 414, 673, 680, 689, 816	Cockburn, Richard 595	<i>Dechanx / Dehoux / Duhoux, John</i> 660
<i>Carlik, James</i> 887	Cockburn, Walter 190, 205	<i>Delos, James (cf Doles, James; Doless, James or John)</i> 312, 628
Carmichael, George 447, 490	Coetivy, Alanus de 140	Dingwall, John 1459, 1460, 1493.1
Carmichael, Thomas 1437, 1438, 1447	<i>Cotis, Robert</i> 1453, 552	<i>Doby, Alexander (priest, d.StA, vicar of Tynninghame)</i> 627
Carruthers, Roger 244, 785	Cranston, Thomas 1000	<i>Doby, Alexander (priest, d.Glas, vicar of Logie Murdoch, vicar of Kilmany)</i> 905, 977
Carruthers, Simon 251	Crawford, John 1002	Dog, Thomas 31
Carruthers, William 243, 252	Crichton, John 108, 183	<i>Doles, James (cf Delos, James)</i> 402, 417, 485, 537, 550, 612, 622
<i>Chabm, John</i> 334	Crichton, Kentigern 1513, 23, 86, 105, 152	<i>Doles, John</i> 257, 499
<i>Chainnes, John</i> 366	Cunningham, Alan 1420	<i>Doless, James or John (cf Delos, James)</i> 298
Chalmer, David 840, 854	Cunningham, John 1523	<i>Donaldi, Dougal</i> 67, 69
Chalmer, John (canon of Moray, Lic. Theol.) 1469	Cunningham, Robert 1449	Donaldson, Alexander 468
Chalmer, John (rector of hospital of St Germain, MA) 1476, 318, 484, 494, 502.1, 726	<i>Dalequhy / Daloquhi/ Daloquhy, Robert</i> 779, 1022	Donaldson, Andrew 818
Chalmer, John (subprecentor of Moray) 634, 644, 646, 647	<i>Daulyn, Walter</i> 831	Dorothea, queen of Denmark 238
Chalmer, Thomas 1518, 1525, 93, 342, 369, 430, 437, 444, 448	<i>Daupstatar, Thomas</i> 285	Douglas, Hugh 1495, 1497, 1498, 1521, 55, 529, 824, 828, 834, 842, 859, 868
<i>Citi / De Ati, Finalus Recusay</i> 1494	David, Malcolm <i>Salamonis</i> 1464, 1471	
	Davidson, John 130, 223, 997	
	Davidson, Walter 483	

Douglas, James (clerk, d.Glas, son of an earl and an unmarried woman) 1429, 869	64, 88, 104, 107, 127, 141, 147, 154, 163, 230, 344, 354, 354.1, 361, 370, 379, 502, 506, 866, 1010	Fergus, Robert 966
Douglas, James (provost of Corstorphine, MA) 790	<i>Eicton / Eiston</i> , John 613	Ferguson, William 1443, 1452, 28, 58, 64.1
Douglas, Walter 6, 113	<i>Eklis</i> , John 956	<i>Finak / Finali</i> , John 26
Drummond, Walter 514, 536, 765, 865, 872, 991	Elizabeth, countess of Ross 573	<i>Finlasen</i> , Alexander 946
Drysdale, Isabella 1523	Elphinstone, William 1519, 1529, 63, 328, 339, 579, 688, 736, 897, 898	Fleming, James 230
Dunbar, Gavin 713	<i>Erddar</i> , Matthew 1499	Fleming, Michael 75
Dunbar, James 1463	Estouteville, Guillaume d' 23.2, 149, 621, 692, 692.1, 702, 703	<i>Flescher / Flester</i> , John 993, 1031
Dunn, James 229	<i>Fabrj</i> , John 913	Forbes, Henry 457
<i>Duquhyri</i> , Robert 974	Fairweather, Robert 138, 209, 218, 767, 768, 812, 815, 905, 910	Forbes, Richard 676
Durisdeer, Andrew de 1526	Falconer, John 406, 416	Forbes, Walter 222, 708
Eaglesham, Cuthbert 789	<i>Faruely / Finely</i> , Clement 997, 1010	Forfar, Andrew see Young, Andrew
<i>Edmondston/ Edminstone</i> , John 273, 797	<i>Fauside</i> , William 429	Forman, Nicholas 598, 603, 624
<i>Edmondiston/ Edmundiston</i> , Margaret 363, 445	<i>Fawsid</i> , Robert 186	Forrester, Robert 10, 214
Edward IV, king of England 220	<i>Feldr</i> , Thomas 505	<i>Forsar</i> , Gilbert 1445
Edwardson, Hugh 1463	<i>Fentch / Fenton / Setton</i> , James 100, 143, 731	Forsyth, Thomas (priest, d.Aber or Glas, B.Dec) 1489, 1500, 1510, 1511, 1530
Edwardson, John 1492, 1506, 8, 9, 24, 25,	<i>Fenton / Fonton</i> , John 856, 933	Forsyth, Thomas (clerk, d.Aber, MA) 29, 959
		Forsyth, William 554
		Foulis, John 261, 657

<i>Foulles</i> , Hugh	648	321, 799, 801, 853, 857, 939	Hamilton, James (lord of Hamilton)	348
<i>Fowlertoun</i> , Robert	721	Graham, John 690.1	<i>Harrowar</i> / <i>Horworen</i> / <i>Harlvar</i> , Robert	806, 880, 890, 937
Fresel, John 435, 443, 458, 471, 487, 500, 512, 544, 562, 749, 750, 929, 951		Graham, Patrick 59, 109, 109.1	Hasty, Thomas	1522
<i>Fuches</i> , John 1479		Graham, Robert 1434	Hay, Andrew	65, 377, 438
<i>Fular</i> , William	388	Gray, Edward 999	Hay, Thomas	858, 879
<i>Fyf</i> , James	645	<i>Grecischellis</i> , John 23	<i>Haya</i> , Guillelmus de	22
Gardin, Alexander	837	<i>Gregory</i> / <i>Gregorg</i> , Dougal 543	<i>Henrici</i> , David	719
Gardin, John 1483, 275		<i>Grenlau</i> , Nicholas 932	Hepburn, John	893, 894, 1001
Gardiner, William (priest, d.StA)	36	<i>Grenlaw</i> , Thomas 668	Heriot, Christine	591
Gardiner, William (priest, d.Glas)	539, 542.1	Guthrie, Alexander 679	Heriot, Thomas	137
George, abbot of Arbroath 786		Guthrie, David (lord of Guthrie) 168	Heron, Thomas	642
Gifford, Alexander 203, 289, 297		Guthrie, David 811	<i>Hoavllayr</i> , John	860
<i>Glandounwin</i> / <i>Glendounwin</i> / <i>Glendowyn</i> , Adam 110, 851		Haddington, William 773, 807	<i>Hobutar</i> / <i>Huntar</i> , Alan	76
Goldsmith, John (<i>alias</i> John Aurifaber) 478, 503, 637, 643		<i>Hagys</i> , Andrew 1484	Hog, Thomas	1026
Gonzaga, Francesco	35, 605	Halliburton, Patrick 240	Hog, William	see Montecalbo, William de
Gordon, Adam 119, 123, 125, 130, 135,	42,	Halliday, Alexander 18, 304, 558, 618, 764	Houston, Robert	231, 233
		Halliday, Thomas 623, 625	<i>Howburn</i> , Laurence	392
		Hamilton, David 538, 542, 543.1, 549, 565	<i>Howyson</i> , George	1020

<i>Huchonson</i> , Richard 404	Ireland, John 270, 992	Kerr, John 1485
Hugonis, David 583, 590, 600, 606, 607, 614, 625.1, 658, 658.1, 695, 943, 963, 969, 971, 984, 987	James, earl of Morton 136, 303, 308	Kerr, Robert 13, 114, 145
<i>Humby</i> , Simon 725	James III, king of Scots 1441, 1442, 1455, 1508, 39, 40, 46, 46.1, 46.2, 46.3, 46.4, 46.5, 116, 121, 131, 167, 177, 177.1, 194, 280, 283, 284, 299, 305, 329, 335, 336, 359, 368, 380, 386, 432, 449, 455, 474, 483, 489, 493, 504, 525, 535, 599, 638, 649, 662, 679, 691, 732, 848, 849, 862, 998, 1014	Kerr, Walter 139, 145
Hume, Alexander (lord of Hume and Dunglass) 1474, 354, 354.1, 379, 620		Kirkpatrick, Simon 936
Hume, Alizona 144, 151		Knollis, Archibald 181, 267
Hume, Edward 156, 378, 431, 594		Knollis, Henry 919, 1029
Hume, John (prior of Coldingham) 64, 146, 380	<i>Johannis</i> , David 661	<i>Kynor</i> , Thomas 934.1
Hume, John (monk of Lindores) 774	<i>Johannis</i> , Gilbert 70	<i>Laidyn</i> , John 1424
Hume, Nicholas 247, 360	John, abbot of Dryburgh 596	Laing, Archibald (cf <i>Lang</i> / <i>Long</i> , Archibald) 787
Hume, Patrick 21, 68, 78, 158, 380	John, abbot of Lindores 126	Laing, John 635
Hunter, George 250	Johnston, Florence 424	<i>Lane</i> , William 947
Hunter, Thomas 1456	Johnston, John 245	<i>Lang</i> / <i>Long</i> , Archibald (cf Laing, Archibald) 829, 843
Inglis, Alexander 1531, 81, 272, 341, 346, 519, 777, 968	Johnston, Robert 420, 423, 426	Lauder, Robert (temporal lord of Bass) 453, 738, 742
Inglis, James 23, 44, 48, 55, 62, 79, 80, 81, 84	Keith, Robert 1468, 1509	Lauder, Thomas 134
	Kennedy, Gilbert 1475	Lauder, William 117
	Kennedy, Thomas 306, 306.1, 317, 327, 456, 474, 525, 588	Lauderdale, Andrew (cf Luthirdale, Andrew) 353, 858, 879

Lauderdale, David (cf Luthirdale, David)	345	Lindsay, David	1422, 1435	Lock, Robert	1433
Lauderdale, James	241	Lindsay, James (dean of Glasgow, B.Dec)	1436, 1475, 86, 94, 112, 608, 635, 728, 729, 889	Lockhart, John	77, 372, 375, 384, 400, 412, 413
Lawson, John	956	Lindsay, James (priest, d.Brech)	1496	Logij, Thomas	760
Lawson, Richard	133	Lindsay, James (rector of Inchbraoch)	164	<i>Lomeise / Lonteist / Lowthrist</i> , Thomas	446, 479
Lawson, William	1504, 677	Lindsay, James (archdeacon of Aberdeen, Lic. Arts)	696, 698, 730, 967, 1019	Loquhy, Andrew de	792
<i>Lech</i> , William	346	Lindsay, Johanna	616, 620.1	Lorimer, Robert	924
<i>Leche</i> , Patrick	187	Lindsay, John	441	<i>Lowqhan / Lewgan</i> , John	206, 324
<i>Lemonicht / Lernwricht</i> , John	142	Lindsay, Walter	1423	<i>Lowris</i> , William de	1466
Leslie, Walter	794	Lindsay, William (rector of Kirkpatrick Juxta, MA)	1421, 1423, 1530	<i>Lulidal</i> , John de	422
<i>Leys</i> , Andrew	755	Lindsay, William (canon of Jedburgh)	1463, 1465, 425	Lumsden, Alexander	1515, 531, 604
<i>Leys / Leyss</i> , Robert	12, 51	Liston, John	874	Lumsden, James	604
<i>Leytoun</i> , Robert	428	Livingstone, James	316	Lumsden, John	560
<i>Libtiwlone</i> , John	262	Livingstone, Thomas	690, 780	Luthirdale, Andrew (cf Lauderdale, Andrew)	460
Lichton, David	548	Livingstone, William	118, 169, 344	Luthirdale, David (cf Lauderdale, David)	296, 372, 520
Lichton, George	1503, 106	Lock, John	1487, 102, 524, 640	<i>Lygart</i> , Thomas	1451
Lichton, John	68			Lyle, Andrew	23, 459, 751, 756
Lindsay, Alexander	720, 752				
Lindsay, Andrew	678				
Lindsay, Archibald	387, 393, 763				
Lindsay, Christine	1449				

Lyle, John 1477, 465, 480.1, 488.1, 569	163, 279, 309, 309.1, 310, 319, 478.2, 481	Monymusk, prior of 761
Lyle, Thomas 322	Mason, Patrick 957, 958, 995	Morrison, George 397
Lyon, David 989, 1007	Mason, Peter 672, 697, 724, 827, 830	Motherwell, John 478, 480
<i>Lystar</i> , John 707	Masterton, Thomas 1482	Mowat, John 226
<i>Macdonel</i> / <i>Moedovel</i> , Thomas 498	Maxwell, Gilbert 101, 101.1, 185	Mowat, William 1478, 1501, 454, 456, 715, 716, 988, 990
Macdowell, Fergus 1440	<i>McBrayr</i> , Robert 244	<i>Mudi</i> , Thomas 832
Macdowell, Gilbert 1458	Meldrum, Alan 891	Muir, Alexander 633
<i>Machane</i> / <i>Ma[c]machane</i> , John 944	Meldrum, David 282, 288, 429	Muir, John 449, 567
<i>Mackyliss</i> , John 1005	Meldrum, Henry 955	Muir, Robert 290
<i>Makclanacha</i> , Thomas 908	Melrose, abbot of 311	Muirhead, Andrew 983
<i>Makewyn</i> , Andrew 497	<i>Menynele</i> / <i>Monymeille</i> , Thomas 492, 900	<i>Mulikin</i> , William 935
<i>Maklennoquhy</i> , Thomas 1014	<i>Miletus</i> , John 1533	<i>Muthed</i> , Richard 916
Mallinson, John 986	<i>Monelaw</i> / <i>Nonelaw</i> , Thomas 762	<i>Mynhisa</i> , Patrick 705
Margaret, queen of Scots 691, 862	Moneypenny, Walter 302, 367, 367.1, 921, 923, 1021, 1027	Nardis, Pietro Antonio de 155, 660
Marshall, Thomas 27	Montealbo, William de (<i>alias</i> William Hog, papal courtier, D.Dec) 1450, 277	<i>Nemucii</i> / <i>Nenonati</i> / <i>Neuman</i> / <i>Neuuton</i> , Thomas 1431, 17, 160, 165
Marshall, William (priest, d.Glas, vicar of Galston) 43, 113	Montealbo, William de (priest, d.Aber, MA) 224, 810	Nesbet, John 723
Marshall, William (papal and cardinal familiar, clerk, d.Glas.) 96,		Nicholson, Robert 820
		<i>Nicolai</i> , John 23
		Ogilvie, James 406, 415

Ogilvie, John	926	Piccolomini, Francesco	216, 217, 258, 263, 265, 294, 294.1
Ogilvie, Walter		Todeschini 23.3	
363, 445, 450		Pile, Thomas	159
Oliphant, Christina		Piot, Alexander	Rait, Alexander (clerk, d.Tournai) 714
1494		326, 333.1	
Oliphant, George	791	Piot, Patrick	Ramsay, Andrew 802, 809
Oliphant, James		1419	
25.1, 38		Piot, Thomas (cf <i>Pyhoth</i> , Thomas)	Ramsay, James 616, 620.1
Oliphant, William		338, 371, 586	
171, 309, 309.1, 495, 496, 498.1, 516, 568, 652, 669, 710, 711, 805, 808, 830		<i>Pittyndarwch</i> , James	Ramsay, Thomas 277, 789
<i>Omyngom</i> , Edward	546		
Otterburn, John	52,	<i>Planamoy</i> / <i>Plendinoris</i> / <i>Planay</i> Morys / <i>Plangmoris</i> , James	<i>Rechtoun</i> , John 892
566, 582, 582.1, 651		173, 204, 278, 278.1	
Painter, Andrew		Portar, William	Redpath, William 234
390, 592, 641		687, 741	
Paisley, abbot of	2	Preston, Alexander	Reid, John (<i>alias</i> John Stobo) 201, 901, 953
<i>Patricij</i> , Fergus	758	342	
Patrick, abbot of		Pringle, Matthew	Reid, Martin 770, 771, 772, 948, 962, 981
Newbattle 71		667	Reid, Robert 225, 239
<i>Pendwen</i> , Peter	132	Prithis, Ciccolus de	Renwick, Martin 246
		122, 124	
<i>Penner</i> / <i>Pennr</i> , Robert		Purdy, David	Rerick, Gilbert 23, 92, 200, 615
878		1491	
<i>Penwen</i> , Nicholas		Purdy, Richard	<i>Reston</i> / <i>Restone</i> / <i>Rostone</i> / <i>Raston</i> / <i>Paston</i> , John 1488, 50, 467, 482, 528, 541
1533		132	
<i>Person</i> , Andrew	727	Purves, Andrew	Riario, Raffaele 952
		564, 694	
<i>Petrigren</i> , James	656	<i>Pyhoth</i> , Thomas (cf Piot, Thomas)	<i>Roberti</i> , Richard 463, 501
<i>Pettary</i> , Robert	961	34	
		<i>Radschado</i> , Patrick	Robinson, Edward 236
		33	
		Rait, Alexander (familiar of the pope)	
		1466, 7, 22, 32, 162, 174, 199, 215,	

Rogerson, Thomas 1448		Scheves, John 884, 907	<i>Simonis</i> / <i>Symonis</i> , Alexander 821, 870
Ross, John	182	Scheves, William 175, 195, 350, 378, 431, 686, 753, 876, 882, 897, 898, 899, 904, 911, 912, 918	Sinclair, James 210, 211, 796, 836, 841, 1003, 1012, 1013, 1015
Ross, Nicholas 307, 410, 419, 419.1, 477, 962			Sinclair, Thomas 813
Ross, Robert 349, 413.1, 962		<i>Sclatre / Sklater</i> , Gilbert 871, 978	Sinclair, William (earl of Orkney and Caithness) 432
Ross, Thomas	434	Scot, Alexander 888	Smyth, John 1490
Ross, William	196	Scot, James 382	<i>Somburne</i> , John 584
Ruch, Alexander 1507, 207, 718		Scot, John 357	Spalding, John 1461, 949
Ruch, David 212, 242, 475		Scot, Mariota 246	<i>Spanky</i> / <i>Spantry</i> / <i>Spemtay</i> / <i>Spernky</i> , John 1473, 551
Ruch, John 1520, 95, 143, 170, 213, 259, 381, 383, 416, 419, 586, 593, 624, 630, 663, 718		<i>Scottis, Bartholomeus de</i> 22	Spens, David 922
Ruch, Thomas 248, 276		<i>Scottis, Laurentius de</i> 22	Spens, John 847, 996
Ruch, Walter	906	Scrymgeour, Alexander (abbot of Arbroath) 1502, 1525.1, 19, 59, 61	Spens, Thomas (bishop of Aberdeen) 30
<i>Sale</i> , Richard	766	Scrymgeour, Alexander (chaplain, altar of St James, Dundee) 578	Spens, Thomas (vicar of Kinglassie) 523, 530
<i>Sauinj / Sevynie</i> , Robert 985, 994		Scrymgeour, Alexander (canon of St Andrews) 934, 1017	<i>Spetall</i> , Michael de 41
<i>Scheirer</i> , William	474	Seton, David 3, 553, 555, 1006	Stag, Henry 367, 367.1
<i>Scherar</i> , Duncan	82, 85	Seton, George (lord of Seton) 1439	Stewart, Alexander (clerk, d.StA, preceptor of St Anthony near Leith, MA) 1480
<i>Scheray</i> , Alexander 1426, 37		Sharp, Nicholas 803	Stewart, Alexander (priest, d.Moray,

subprecentor of Moray, archdeacon of Ross, MA, B.Dec) 45, 87, 580	<i>Straton / Straten</i> , Michael 737, 883	Turnbull, John 323, 355
Stewart, Alexander (clerk, d.Glas, canon of Glasgow) 601, 687, 741	<i>Strayetn / de Strayetin</i> , Henry 814, 817	Turnbull, Robert 352, 356
Stewart, Andrew (canon of Glasgow, MA) 11, 53	<i>Streththyn</i> , Thomas 915	Turnbull, William 1505, 14, 101.1, 153, 161, 260, 286, 300, 407, 464, 470, 472, 478.1, 488, 504.1, 585, 597, 604.1, 626, 800, 867
Stewart, Andrew (bishop of Moray) 653, 863, 864	<i>Suest</i> , Walter 23	Tweedy, William 23, 188
Stewart, James (priest, d.Dunk or StA, MA) 409, 793	Sutherland, Alexander 433	<i>Tyri</i> , Gilbert 172
Stewart, James (constable of palace of Spynie, Moray) 798	Sutherland, Kenneth 873	Vaich, Gavin 1499, 745, 781, 782, 917, 1030
Stewart, John (clerk, d.Aber, son of a priest and an unmarried woman, Lic. Arts, sacristan of Moray) 97, 103	Swift, Walter 291	<i>Vales / Valas / Walas</i> , John 66, 70.1, 120, 121.1
Stewart, John (earl of Mar and Garioch) 676	<i>Symonis</i> , Andrew 920	<i>Varson</i> , Simon 754
Stewart, John (d.Glas, son of a married man and an unmarried woman, MA) 846	<i>Symonton</i> , John 636	Vaus, Alexander 223, 427, 561, 733, 804, 825, 852, 855
Stewart, Thomas 178	Tain, John 1457	Vaus, David 739
Stewart, William 975, 979, 982	Thomson, Matthew 1516	Vaus, George 527, 559, 685, 701
<i>Stratan</i> , Richard 342	Thomson, William 1018	Vaus, Martin 1462, 734, 735
<i>Strathathen</i> , Richard 940	<i>Tidderspen</i> , John 293	Vaus, Patrick 198, 526, 965
	Tollan, Rankyn 619	Vaus, Thomas 1517, 4, 556, 557
	<i>Tours</i> , Alexander 670, 674, 681	
	Tulloch, Thomas 602	
	Tulloch, William 436	
	Turnbull, Adam 851	
	Turnbull, James 851	
	Turnbull, Janeta 251	

<i>Velas, Jonet de</i>	245	Wodman, John	491
vicar and brothers OFM of vicariate of Scotland re house of Kirkcudbright 1481		Wright, John	128
<i>Vilzanison, Adam</i>	927	Wylie, Richard	13
<i>Vines, Alexander</i>	510	Yellowlock, Duncan	58, 64.1
Wallace, George	775	Young, Andrew (<i>alias</i> Andrew Forfar)	49, 54, 391, 403, 665, 666, 682, 710, 744, 826, 839, 844, 861, 925, 928
Walter (priest, d.StA., OSA)	325	Young, Gilbert	287, 310
Wan, Martin		Young, Patrick	
115, 187, 193, 202		(archdeacon of Galloway, precentor of Dunkeld, collector of apostolic Camera)	16
Wardlaw, Robert	90	Young, Patrick (precentor of Dunkeld)	
Watson, Richard	954	320, 331	
<i>Wauan / Wawan, William</i>			
895, 972			
<i>Waun, Robert</i>	743		
<i>Wawan, Alexander</i>	915		
<i>Weems, John</i>	486		
Weir, John	337		
Whitelaw, Archibald			
56, 268, 351, 385, 418, 747, 850, 930, 938, 1004			
Whitelaw, John			
219, 227, 232, 253, 256, 269, 610, 639, 706, 711			
William, abbot of Kilwinning	1527, 1535, 1, 5		
Wishart, Patrick	461		

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

Ross Fund Vatican Archive Collection, Department of Scottish History, University of Glasgow:

Registra Supplicationum manuscript calendar 1470-84 (as detailed in Appendix III), microfilm and photocopies

Registra Supplicationum manuscript calendar 1447-69, references: 514,61v; 519,79; 523,247; 526,47; 531,143v; 535,52; 535,69; 553,41v; 553,229v; 578,296; 583,189v; 585,8v; 587,227v; 588,44; 589,186; 590,55-55v; 594,18v; 596,259; 596,274v; 624,196v; 625,92v; 633,287; 637,281; 638,276v

Libri Formatarum index and microfilm (PRO, 31/9)

Faculty of Law, University of Dundee:

Index to Rota material

Formulare Advocatorum et Procuratorum Romane Curie, Glasgow University Library, David Murray collection, MU14.f20

Primary Printed Sources

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland I, 1473-1498, ed T Dickson (Edinburgh, 1877)

Acta Facultatis Artium Universitatis Sanctiandree 1413-1588, 2 vols, ed A I Dunlop, Scottish History Society, third series, LV (Edinburgh, 1964)

Acts of the Lords of Council in Civil Causes 1478-1495, ed T Thomson (Edinburgh, 1839)

The Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices 1418-1488, ed A I Cameron (Oxford, 1934)

Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland IV, 1357-1509, ed J Bain (Edinburgh, 1888)

- Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland V (Supplementary), 1108-1516*, edd G G Simpson and J D Galbraith (Edinburgh, 1986)
- Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XI (1455-1464)*, ed J A Tremlow (London, 1921)
- Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XII (1458-1471)*, ed J A Tremlow (London, 1933)
- Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XIII (1471-1484)*, ed J A Tremlow (London, 1955)
- Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XV (1484-1492)*, ed M J Haren (Dublin, 1978)
- Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, XVI (1492-1498)*, ed A P Fuller (Dublin, 1986)
- Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1418-1422*, edd E R Lindsay and A I Cameron, Scottish History Society, third series, XXIII (Edinburgh, 1934)
- Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1423-1428*, ed A I Dunlop, Scottish History Society, third series, XLVIII (Edinburgh, 1956)
- Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1428-1432*, edd A I Dunlop and I B Cowan, Scottish History Society, fourth series, VII (Edinburgh, 1970)
- Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome, 1433-1447*, edd A I Dunlop and D MacLauchlan (Glasgow, 1983)
- Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope: the Commentaries of Pius II*, translated by F A Gragg, ed L C Gabel (London, 1960)
- Mylne, A, *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesiae Episcoporum*, Bannatyne Club I (Edinburgh, 1823)
- Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Petitions to the Pope, 1342-1419*, ed W H Bliss (London, 1896)
- The Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515*, edd H M Paton and G Donaldson, Scottish Record Society (Edinburgh, 1945)
- Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis*, ed Patrick Chalmers, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1856)
- The Stirlings of Keir and their family papers*, ed William Fraser (Edinburgh, 1858)

Guides and Works of Reference

Atlas of Scottish History to 1707, edd P G B McNeill and H L MacQueen (Edinburgh, 1996)

Black, G, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History* (New York, 1946)

Boyle, L F, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of its Medieval Holdings* (Toronto, 1972)

Brady, W M, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland, and Ireland, AD 1400 to 1875* (Rome, 1876-7)

Cowan, I B, *The Parishes of Medieval Scotland*, Scottish Record Society XCIII (Edinburgh, 1967)

Dictionary of the older Scottish tongue from the twelfth century to the end of the seventeenth I, ed W A Craigie (London, 1937)

Dictionnaire de droit canonique, 7 vols, ed R Naz (Paris, 1935-65)

Dowden, J, *The Bishops of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1912)

Eubel, C, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, second edition, II (Münster, 1914)

An Historical Atlas of Scotland c.400-c.1600, edd P G B McNeill and R Nicholson (St Andrews, 1975)

An Introduction to Scottish Legal History, Stair Society XX (Edinburgh, 1958)

An Introductory Survey of the Sources and Literature of Scots Law, Stair Society I (Edinburgh, 1936)

Katterbach, P Bruno, *Inventario dei Registri delle Suppliche* (Città del Vaticano, 1932)

Katterbach, P Bruno, *Specimina Supplicationum ex Registris Vaticanis* (Rome, 1927)

The Scots Peerage IV, ed Sir James Balfour Paul (Edinburgh, 1907)

Watt, D E R, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638*, second draft, Scottish Record Society, New Series I (Edinburgh, 1969)

Books

Ady, C M, *Pius II (Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini) the Humanist Pope* (London 1913)

Aubenas, R and Ricard, R, *L'Église et la Renaissance (1449-1517)*, Histoire de l'Église XV (Paris, 1951)

Barraclough, G, *Papal Provisions* (Oxford, 1935)

Barrell, A D M, *The Papacy, Scotland and Northern England, 1342-1378* (Cambridge, 1995)

Brundage, J A, *Medieval Canon Law* (London and New York, 1995)

Burleigh, J H S, *A Church History of Scotland* (London, 1960)

Celier, L, *Les Dataires du xv^e siècle et les origines de la Daterie Apostolique*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Fascicule 103 (Paris, 1910)

Chambers, D S, *A Renaissance Cardinal and his Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444-1483)* (London, 1992)

The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984)

Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929, ed N A T Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1983)

Clark, N, *Melozzo da Forlì: Pictor Papalis* (London, 1990)

Cockburn, J H, *The Medieval Bishops of Dunblane and their Church* (Edinburgh, 1959)

Cowan, I B, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, edited by James Kirk (Edinburgh, 1995)

Cowan, I B, *The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth-Century Scotland* (London, 1982)

Creighton, M, *A History of the Papacy during the period of the Reformation II* (London, 1882)

Cunningham, J, *Church History of Scotland*, 2 vols, I, 2nd edn (Edinburgh, 1882)

Dickinson, W C, *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603*, rev edn by A A M Duncan (Oxford, 1977)

- Dilworth, M, *Scottish Monasteries in the late Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1995)
- Donaldson, G, *The Faith of the Scots* (London, 1990)
- Dowden, J, *The Medieval Church in Scotland: its Constitution, Organisation and Law* (Glasgow, 1910)
- Duke, J A, *History of the Church of Scotland to the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1937)
- Dunlop, A I, *The Life and Times of James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews*, St Andrews University publications No. XLVI (Edinburgh and London, 1950)
- Durkan, J and Kirk, J, *The University of Glasgow 1451-1577* (Glasgow, 1977)
- The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed C H Lawrence (London, 1965)
- Frenz, T, *Die Kanzlei der Päpste der Hochrenaissance (1471-1527)*, Bibliothek des deutschen historischen Instituts in Rome, Band 63 (Tübingen, 1986)
- Grant, A, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306-1469*, The New History of Scotland III (London, 1984)
- Greenstein, Daniel I, *A Historian's Guide to Computing*, Oxford Guides to Computing for the Humanities (Oxford, 1994)
- Gwynn, A, *The Medieval Province of Armagh 1470-1545* (Dundalk, 1946)
- Hallman, B McClung, *Italian Cardinals, Reform, and the Church as Property* (Berkeley, 1985)
- Harper-Bill, C, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400-1530* (New York, 1989)
- Harvey, C and Press, J, *Databases in Historical Research* (London, 1996)
- Harvey, M, *England, Rome and the Papacy 1417-1464: the study of a relationship* (Manchester and New York, 1993)
- Hay, D, *The Church in Italy in the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1977)
- Hay, D, *Europe in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1966)
- Heath, P, *English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London and Toronto, 1969)
- Herkless, John, and Hannay, Robert Kerr, *The Archbishops of St Andrews*, 5 vols, I (Edinburgh and London, 1907)

- History and Computing*, edd Peter Denley and Deian Hopkin (Manchester, 1987)
- History and Computing II*, edd Peter Denley, Stefan Fogelvik and Charles Harvey (Manchester, 1989)
- History and Computing III: Historians, computers and data*, edd Evan Mawdsley, Nicholas Morgan, Lesley Richmond and Richard Trainor (Manchester, 1990)
- Informatique et Histoire Médiévale: Communications et débats de la Table Ronde CNRS, organisée par l'École Française de Rome et l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université de Pise (Rome, 20-22 Mai 1975)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome XXXI, edd L Fossier, A Vauchez, C Volante (1977)
- Jacob, E F, *Essays in Later Medieval History* (New York, 1968)
- Laing, A, *Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh* (Edinburgh, 1876)
- Lee, E, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Rome, 1978)
- Lowe, K J P, *Church and Politics in Renaissance Italy - The Life and Career of Cardinal Francesco Soderini (1453-1524)* (Cambridge, 1993)
- Lynch, M, *Scotland: A New History* (London, 1992)
- Macdougall, N A T, *James III: A Political Study* (Edinburgh, 1982)
- Macdougall, N A T, *James IV* (Edinburgh, 1989)
- MacEwen, A R, *A History of the Church in Scotland I* (London, 1913)
- Macfarlane, L J, *William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1431-1514*, quincentenary edition (Aberdeen, 1995)
- Mawdsley, Evan and Munck, Thomas, *Computing for historians: an introductory guide* (Manchester and New York, 1993)
- McGladdery, C, *James II* (Edinburgh, 1990)
- Macquarrie, A, *Scotland and the Crusades 1095-1560* (Edinburgh, 1985)
- Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community*, edd A Grant and K Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993)
- Mitchell, R J, *The Laurels and the Tiara - Pope Pius II 1458-1464* (London, 1962)
- Mollat, G, *The Popes at Avignon 1305-1378*, translated by Janet Love (Edinburgh, 1963)

- Nicholson, R, *Scotland: The Later Middle Ages*, Edinburgh History of Scotland II (Edinburgh, 1989)
- Partner, P, *The Pope's Men: The Papal Civil Service in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1990)
- Pastor, L von, *History of the Popes IV*, translated by F I Antrobus (London, 1900)
- Queller, D E, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1967)
- Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, ed C Harper-Bill, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion III (Woodbridge, 1991)
- The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, edd I B Cowan and D Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983)
- Robinson, D, *Beneficed Clergy in Cleveland and the East Riding 1306-1340* (York, 1969)
- Schwoebel, R, *The Shadow of the Crescent: the Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453-1517)* (New York, 1969)
- Scotland and Scandinavia 800-1800*, ed G G Simpson, University of Aberdeen Mackie Monographs I (Edinburgh, 1990)
- Scotland Revisited*, ed J Wormald (London, 1991)
- Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977)
- The Scottish Nation*, ed G Menzies (London, 1972)
- Southern, R W, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, The Penguin History of the Church II (London, 1990)
- Stair-Kerr, E, *Scotland under James IV* (Paisley, 1911)
- Swanson, R N, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford and New York, 1989)
- Thomson, J A F, *Popes and Princes 1417-1517: Politics and Polity in the Late Medieval Church* (London, 1980)
- Ullmann, W, *A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972)
- Un Pontificato ed una città Sisto IV (1471-1484)*, Atti del convegno Roma 3-7 Dicembre 1984 a cura di Massimo Miglio, Francesca Niutta, Diego Quaglioni, Concetta Ranieri (Città del Vaticano, 1986)

Vale, M G A, *Charles VII* (London, 1974)

Wilkie, W E, *The Cardinal Protectors of England: Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation* (Cambridge, 1974)

Wormald, J, *Court, Kirk, and Community: Scotland 1470-1625*, The New History of Scotland IV (London, 1981)

Wormald, J, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442-1603* (Edinburgh, 1985)

Articles

- Adman, P, Baskerville, S W, and Beedham, K F, 'Computer-Assisted Record Linkage: or How Best to Optimize Links Without Generating Errors', *History and Computing*, 4.1 (1992), 2-15
- Anton, A E, 'Parent and Child', in *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History*, Stair Society XX (Edinburgh, 1958), 116-24
- Bannerman, J, 'The Lordship of the Isles', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 209-40
- Barrell, A D M, 'The background to *Cum universi*: Scoto-papal relations, 1159-1192', *IR* XLVI (1995), 116-138
- Boyle, L E, 'The Papal Chancery at the end of the Fifteenth Century', introduction to *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, XV (1484-1492), ed M J Haren (Dublin, 1978), xv-xxiv
- Bradley, J, 'Relational Database Design and the Reconstruction of the British Medical Profession: Constraints and Strategies', *History and Computing* 6.2 (1994), 71-84
- Brown, J M, 'Taming the Magnates', in *The Scottish Nation*, ed G Menzies (London, 1972), 46-59
- Burgess, C, 'Strategies for Eternity: Perpetual Chantry Foundation in Late Medieval Bristol', in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion III, ed C Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1991), 1-32
- Burt, J and James, T B, 'Source-Oriented Data Processing: The triumph of the micro over the macro?', *History and Computing* 8.3 (1996), 160-8
- Cameron, A I, 'Scottish Students at Paris University, 1466-1492', *Juridical Review* XLVIII (1936), 228-55
- Cameron, A I, 'Vatican Archives, 1073-1560', in *An Introductory Survey of the Sources and Literature of Scots Law*, Stair Society I (Edinburgh, 1936), 274-81
- Campbell, W, 'The first Archbishop of Glasgow - Part I', *RSCHS* VIII (1944), 55-74
- Cant, R G, 'The Church in Orkney and Shetland and its relations with Norway and Scotland in the middle ages', *Northern Scotland* I (1972), 1-18
- Cheney, C R, 'The Study of the Medieval Papal Chancery', second Edwards lecture (Glasgow, 1966)

Cowan, I B, 'British Research in the Vatican Archives', *Unione Internazionale Degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'arte in Roma - L'archivio segreto Vaticano e le ricerche storiche, Città del Vaticano 4-5 giugno 1981* (Rome, 1983), 141-58

Cowan, I B, 'Patronage, Provision and Reservation: Pre-Reformation Appointments to Scottish Benefices', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, edd I B Cowan and D Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 75-92

Cowan, I B, 'The Medieval Church in Scotland: A Select Critical Bibliography', *RSCHS* XXI (1981), 91-110

Cowan, I B, 'Church and Society', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 112-35

Cowan, I B, 'The medieval church in the diocese of Aberdeen', *Northern Scotland* I (1972), 19-48

Cowan, I B, 'The Vatican Archives - A Report on pre-reformation Scottish material', *SHR* XLVIII (1969), 227-42

Cowan, I B, 'Vicarages and the Cure of Souls in Medieval Scotland', *RSCHS* XVI (1969), 111-27

Cowan, I B, 'The Religious and the Cure of Souls in Medieval Scotland', *RSCHS* XIV (1962), 215-30

Cowan, I B, 'The Development of the Parochial System in Medieval Scotland', *SHR* XL (1961), 43-55

Cowan, I B, 'The Organisation of Scottish Secular Cathedral Chapters', *RSCHS* XIV (1960), 19-49

Cowan, I B, 'Some Aspects of the Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland', *RSCHS* XIII (1959), 203-22

Crawford, B E, 'Scotland's foreign relations: Scandinavia', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 85-100

Dahlerup, T, 'Orkney Bishops as Suffragans in the Scandinavian-Baltic Area: an aspect of the late medieval Church in the North', in *Scotland and Scandinavia 800-1800*, ed G G Simpson, University of Aberdeen Mackie Monographs I (Edinburgh, 1990), 38-47

Davis, V, 'Medieval English Clergy Database', *History and Computing* 2.2 (1990), 75-87

- Denley, P, 'Models, Sources and Users: Historical Database Design in the 1990s', *History and Computing* 6.1 (1994), 33-43
- Deshusses, J, 'Familiers des évêques' in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, V, ed R Naz (Paris, 1953), cols 809-10
- Deshusses, J, 'Familiers du Pape' in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, V, ed R Naz (Paris, 1953), cols 810-14
- Dilworth, M, 'The Commendator System in Scotland', *IR* XXXVII (1986), 51-72
- Dilworth, M, 'The Social Origins of Scottish Medieval Monks', *RSCHS* XX (1980), 197-209
- Dobson, R B, 'Introduction', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 9-22
- Dobson, R B, 'The last English monks on Scottish soil - the severance of Coldingham priory from the monastery of Durham 1461-78', *SHR* XLVI (1967), 1-25
- Donaldson, G, 'The Church Courts', in *An Introduction to Scottish Legal History*, Stair Society XX (Edinburgh, 1958), 363-73
- Donaldson, G, 'Inter-Diocesan and Inter-Provincial Communication before and after the Reformation', *RSCHS* XII (1958), 73-81
- Donaldson, G, 'The rights of the Scottish crown in episcopal vacancies', *SHR* XLVI (1966), 27-35
- Du Boulay, F R H, 'The Fifteenth Century', in *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed C H Lawrence (London, 1965), 197-242
- Dunlop, A I, 'Notes on the Church in the Dioceses of Sodor and Argyll', *RSCHS* XVI (1969), 179-84
- Dunlop, A I, 'Remissions and Indulgences in Fifteenth Century Scotland', *RSCHS* XV (1965), 153-67
- Dunlop, A I, 'Scots Abroad in the Fifteenth Century', *Historical Association Pamphlet* no. 124 (1942)
- Durkan, J, 'The Early Scottish Notary', in *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland: Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson*, edd I B Cowan and D Shaw (Edinburgh, 1983), 22-40
- Durkan, J, 'Care of the Poor: Pre-Reformation Hospitals', *IR* X (1959), 268-80

- Durkan, J, 'The Cultural Background in Sixteenth-Century Scotland', *IR* X (1959), 382-439
- Foggie, J P, '*Archivum Sacrae Paenitentiariae Apostolicae* in the Vatican Archives as a source for Scottish historians', *IR* XLVII (1996), 110-26
- Greenstein, D I, 'Multi-sourced and Integrated Databases for the Prosopographer', in *History and Computing III: Historians, computers and data*, edd Evan Mawdsley, Nicholas Morgan, Lesley Richmond and Richard Trainor (Manchester, 1990), 60-6
- Hannay, R K, 'The Scottish Crown and the Papacy, 1424-1560', *Historical Association Pamphlet* no. 6 (1931)
- Harvey, C and Green, E, 'Record Linkage Algorithms: Efficiency, Selection and Relative Confidence', *History and Computing* 6.3 (1994), 143-52
- Innes, G P, 'Ecclesiastical Patronage . . . in Scotland in the Later Middle Ages', *RSCHS* XIII (1957), 73-83
- Jacob, E F, 'To and from the Court of Rome in the Early Fifteenth Century', in Jacob, E F, *Essays in Later Medieval History* (New York, 1968), 58-78
- Kirkpatrick, J, 'The Scottish Nation in the University of Orleans, 1336-1538', in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* II (Edinburgh, 1904), 45-103
- Lee, E, 'Sixtus IV, His court and Rome: Concluding Remarks' in *Un Pontificato ed una città Sisto IV (1471-1484)*, Atti del convegno Roma 3-7 Dicembre 1984 a cura di Massimo Miglio, Francesca Niutta, Diego Quaglioni, Concetta Ranieri (Città del Vaticano, 1986), 761-7
- Lepine, D N, 'The Origins and Careers of the Canons of Exeter Cathedral 1300-1455', in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion III, ed C Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1991), 87-120
- Lyall, R, 'The Court as a Cultural Centre', in *Scotland Revisited*, ed J Wormald (London, 1991), 36-48
- Lyall, R J, 'Scottish Students and Masters at the Universities of Cologne and Louvain in the Fifteenth Century', *IR* XXXVI (1985), 55-73
- Lythe, S G E, 'Economic Life', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 66-84
- Macdougall, N, 'The Struggle for the priory of Coldingham, 1472-1488', *IR* XXIII (1972), 102-14

- Macdougall, N A T, 'The Kingship of James IV of Scotland: 'The Glory of All Princely Governing'', in *Scotland Revisited*, ed J Wormald (London, 1991), 25-35
- Macfarlane, L J, 'The Elevation of the Diocese of Glasgow into an Archbishopric in 1492', *IR* XLIII (1992), 99-118
- Macfarlane, L J, 'Precedence and Protest at the Roman Curia, 1486-1493', *Renaissance Studies* II (1988), 222-30
- Macfarlane, L J, 'Was the Scottish Church reformable by 1513?', in *Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929*, ed N A T Macdougall (Edinburgh, 1983), 23-43
- Macfarlane, L J, 'The Primacy of the Scottish Church, 1472-1521', *IR* XX (1969), 111-29
- McKay, D, 'Parish Life in Scotland, 1500-1560', *IR* X (1959), 237-67
- MacQueen, J, 'The Literature of Fifteenth-Century Scotland', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 184-208
- MacQueen, J, 'National Spirit and Native Culture', in *The Scottish Nation*, ed G Menzies (London, 1972), 60-73
- McRoberts, D, 'The Scottish National Churches in Rome', *IR* I (1950), 110-30
- Miller, T, 'Stipulatio in Sir James Darow's Protocol Book', *Juridical Review* XLV (1933), 32-48
- Mitchell, R J, 'Scottish Law Students in Italy in the later Middle Ages', *Juridical Review* XLIX (1937), 19-24
- Mollat, G, 'Bénéfices Ecclésiastiques en Occident', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, II, ed R Naz (Paris, 1937), cols 406-49
- Morris, R J, 'Nominal Record Linkage: into the 1990s', *History and Computing*, 4.1 (1992), iii-vii
- Moyse, G, 'Les Suppliques Médiévales: documents lacunaires, documents répétitifs?', in *Informatique et Histoire Médiévale: Communications et débats de la Table Ronde CNRS, organisée par l'École Française de Rome et l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université de Pise (Rome, 20-22 Mai 1975)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome XXXI, edd L Fossier, A Vauchez, C Volante (1977), 55-72
- Naz, R, 'Protonotaires Apostoliques', in *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, VII, ed R Naz (Paris, 1965), cols 389-90
- Robertson, J J, 'The Development of the Law', in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed J M Brown (London, 1977), 136-52

- Schmitz, L, 'Die Libri Formatarum der Camera Apostolica', *Romische Quartalschrift* (1894), 451-72
- Schürer, K, Oeppen, J and Schofield, R, 'Theory and Methodology: an Example from Historical Demography', in *History and Computing II*, edd Peter Denley, Stefan Fogelvik and Charles Harvey (Manchester, 1989), 130-42
- Short, A I and Lennard, T W J, 'James IV of Scotland: Sovereign and Surgeon', *Durham Thomas Harriot Seminar*, Occasional Paper VII (1992)
- Smith, D B, 'Canon Law', in *An Introductory Survey of the Sources and Literature of Scots Law*, Stair Society I (Edinburgh, 1936), 183-92
- Swanson, R N, 'Standards of Livings: Parochial Revenues in Pre-Reformation England', in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion III, ed C Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1991), 151-96
- Swanson, R, 'The University of St Andrews and the Great Schism, 1410-1419', *JEH* XXVI (1975), 223-45
- Thaller, M, 'Methods and Techniques of Historical Computation', in *History and Computing*, edd Peter Denley and Deian Hopkin (Manchester, 1987), 147-56
- Thomson, J A F, 'The Well of Grace': Englishmen and Rome in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 99-114
- Thomson, J A F, 'Innocent VIII and the Scottish Church', *IR* XIX (1968), 23-31
- Thomson, J A F, 'Some New Light on the Elevation of Patrick Graham', *SHR* XL (1961), 83-8
- Verger, J, 'Que peut-on attendre d'un traitement automatique des suppliques?', in *Informatique et Histoire Médiévale: Communications et débats de la Table Ronde CNRS, organisée par l'École Française de Rome et l'Institut d'Histoire Médiévale de l'Université de Pise (Rome, 20-22 Mai 1975)*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome XXXI, edd L Fossier, A Vauchez, C Volante (1977), 73-8
- Watt, D E R, 'The Provincial Council of the Scottish Church 1215-1472', in *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community*, edd A Grant and K Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993), 140-55
- Watt, D E R, 'The Papacy and Scotland in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 115-32

Watt, D E R, 'University Graduates in Scottish Benefices before 1410', *RSCHS* XV (1964), 77-88

Watt, D E R, 'Sources for Scottish History of the Fourteenth Century in the Archives of the Vatican', *SHR* XXXII (1953), 101-22

Watt, J A, 'The Papacy and Ireland in the Fifteenth Century', in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed R B Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), 133-45

Wormald, J, 'The House of Stewart and its Realm', in *Scotland Revisited*, ed J Wormald (London, 1991), 12-24

Wright, A D, 'Libraries and Archives: 5. Italy and the Vatican', *History* LVI (1971), 50-4

Unpublished theses

Duff, H A M, *An Aspect of Scottish Monasticism: the Houses of the Order of St Augustine, 1418-1488* (University of Glasgow M.Litt. thesis, 1977)